

EDUCATION AND THE BIRTH-RATE

A Social Dilemma

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FOREWORD

DURING the last two decades there has been a steady growth of interest in problems of population. As time has gone on, it has become clear that the problems are not of theoretical interest only, but are also of great, and perhaps urgent, practical importance. Further, it has been realized that there is much to learn about all the aspects of the situation. While a large amount of valuable work has been done by statisticians, economists, sociologists and biologists, our knowledge is fragmentary; there are everywhere gaps which could and ought to be filled. The explanation of the fragmentary nature of our information is to be sought in the fact that the contributions of specialists in many fields of investigation are needed, and that it is a matter of chance whether at any given time biologists and other specialists happen to get interested in demographic problems and become active in contributing to their solution. It follows that, unless there is some attempt to plan demographic studies and achieve co-ordination, this unsatisfactory state of affairs is likely to continue.

The recognition of demography as a subject of study in universities would do much to remedy the situation; but so far the conferment of the title of Reader in Demography in the University of London upon Dr. R. R. Kuczynski, who is a member of the staff of the London School of Economics, is the only step which has been taken in that direction. It was the conviction that something should be attempted to forward the co-ordination of demographic studies, which led to the setting up of the Population Investigation Committee about four years ago. The Committee consists of 23 members of whom 12 represent bodies such as the Eugenics Society, while the remainder have special knowledge of some aspects of population problems. Financial support was given by private donors and by organizations such as the Carnegie Foundation and the Eugenics

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Society. The Committee drew up a scheme which was intended to indicate the main headings under which the desired investigations might be grouped. One of these headings included approach to marriage, child bearing, child rearing, housing, education and allied topics. The aim in this section of the whole field was to examine the influence of social conditions, including legislation, upon the founding and rearing of families. Research was initiated into hindrances, legal and institutional, to marriage, into social legislation as it touches child bearing, into the influence of housing conditions upon the family and into the bearing of the cost of education upon size of family.

The Committee was fortunate to obtain the full-time services of Dr. Leybourne for the investigation of the last of these topics. She began work in the autumn of 1937 and the results of her investigations are now put before the public. Of all the topics mentioned above the influence of education upon the size of family is most often discussed. When a debate arises about population trends, whether at a public meeting, at a private gathering or in the press, it can be taken as certain that the influence of the cost of education will occupy a prominent place. Nevertheless one may search in vain for any comprehensive attempt to explore the facts. This is the gap which the present work has attempted to fill. In this book is brought together a wealth of material relating to the structure of the educational system of this country in its bearing upon size of family. A careful study of it will be indispensable to all those who are interested in this matter, and it is no exaggeration to say that in future no debate or discussion upon the familiar topic of the cost of education and its results, which does not take these pages into account, will be worthy of much attention.

A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS

AUTHORS' PREFACE

THE theme of this study was conceived, and the research for it financed, by the Population Investigation Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. M. Carr-Saunders. Dr. G. G. Leybourne collected the material, and undertook the majority of the work in making the first analysis of it. Final analysis and writing up the material were shared with Mr. K. White. It was proposed first to discover what evidence there is that the birth-rate of this country has been, and is being, restricted by financial outlay or sacrifice for their children's education on the part of parents, and next to make a statistical survey of current educational costs. The final chapter considers what policy may be suggested by the preceding findings, if it is desired to check the detrimental effects of educational expenses on our fertility.

The contents of this study, then, cover what amounts to a virgin territory. Its final thesis has never been examined in any known published work; and, as for the endless and endlessly complex subject matter of outlays necessary in every sector of our diverse educational field, a doubly difficult task had to be faced. On the one hand, much essential information existed in no published form at all, and had to be collected as far as possible, in a limited time and with limited help, by direct approach to various individuals, most of whom responded very cordially. Cordiality and a desire to be helpful do not, however, necessarily imply accuracy; and while every care has been taken to select, out of such information, only the most reliable and authoritative sources, it has not always been possible to make sure that it was fully trustworthy. On the other hand, a plethora of published information exists on scattered aspects of educational costs; but, apart from the regular statistical work published by such bodies as the Board of Education and the University Grants Committee (of necessity limited), surprisingly little work has been done towards analysing these figures. The main task here was not to

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leave anything of importance out of the analysis which has had to be made *ab initio*. In composing the final text, terminology caused no little difficulty. Many writers, including governmental bodies, have proposed to clarify our complicated educational picture by redefining certain terms, such as 'secondary' and 'grammar' schools; but since popular usage dies hard, this procedure, however logical, has only made them the more unreadable and added to the confusion. The following pages, at the expense of having almost to translate some originals, cling as far as possible to generally accepted usage. But even that does not furnish an unambiguous guide: to part of the educational world, for instance, it comes as second nature to mean by 'public' schools a class of private schools; another part of that same world calls schools under State or governmental control 'public'. The authors must be pardoned for solving such puzzles by occasional recourse to the inverted comma, and by devoting some space to explaining exactly what usage they are following.

Extensive and intensive as this study has turned out to be, its bulk is in reality small compared with the enormous field it treats. Accuracy in every detail, as well as final and unchallengeable completeness, would have required the co-operation of a host of devotees and the expenditure of funds far above what are usually available for research of this kind. In other words, something of a first approximation is offered — one which, it is hoped, will invite correction where necessary, and throw into relief the defects of our present statistical information and its compilation.

Many readers will wonder whether the conclusion that current educational costs depress the British birth-rate, could be substantiated for other countries. There seems, *prima facie*, little doubt that if an analysis were applied to other civilized countries similar to that made in the following chapters for Great Britain, its results would turn out to be much the same. Even if abroad they possess no expensive private school system, comparable to ours, by patronizing which ambitious parents

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can buy a distinctive education for their children, nevertheless, to keep a child, which cannot meanwhile earn a livelihood, during the years of secondary training even at an inexpensive State school must exact financial sacrifices from all but the most comfortably off. The burden of such sacrifice will be assessed, as far as this country is concerned, in chapter II; abroad, it is likely to be even heavier, both because family real incomes are generally lower, and because financial assistance from the public purse is much more restricted. Again, many British parents' desire for educational distinction is satisfied by sending their children to a private (especially a boarding) school. Abroad, lacking for the most part a similar avenue of social and economic mobility, they are forced to satisfy the same ambition by incurring, on a much wider scale than Britons, the expense of a university, or other higher, education. Abroad, therefore, university students form a much larger ratio to their population than they do over here. Thus, in 1934, the number of inhabitants of a country per university student stood, in descending order, as follows:¹

India	3,354 (1932)	Hungary	554
Japan	919 (1933)	Sweden	543 (1932)
Great Britain	885	Norway	522
Italy	808	Czechoslovakia	489
Greece	760 (1932)	France	480
Belgium	734	Rumania	454
Denmark	657	Switzerland	387*
Spain	655 (1932)	Austria	344
Poland	648 (1933)	Estonia	332
Germany	604	Latvia	236
Holland	579	U.S.A.	125 (1932)

* Including Swiss and foreign students; the rectified figure for Swiss only is 511.

¹ KOTSCHNIG, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*, p. 17. Oxford University Press.

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Thus, in Great Britain, a larger population can be counted outside the universities per student within them than in any other European country, our proportion being exceeded, among the more important countries, only by Japan and India. Scholarships to universities, moreover, are rarer abroad than over here. Their undergraduates, while paying a smaller annual fee, must generally spend a greater number of years in graduation. To attain a standing more fully comparable with that of the British B.A., abroad many students devote further years to attaining doctorates. In short, there are clear indications, although precise evidence cannot be given here, that 'costs' of education, if differently distributed, are very likely to exert a pressure upon family circles in European countries — if not in the U.S.A. also — similar to that which can be traced in Britain.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the authorities connected with schools, colleges, universities and professional associations who have helped the authors by answering inquiries. To all these thanks are offered for their invaluable co-operation, and especially to the Board of Education, the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, the Headmistresses' Association, the Headmasters' Conference, and the Association of Recognized Private Schools. Professor Tawney, Mr. T. H. Marshall, Mr. F. R. G. Duckworth, Sir Walter Moberley, Miss Adler, Mr. A. J. Finny, Mr. D. T. White, Mr. D. McLachlan, Mr. F. Lafitte, Mr. D. V. Glass, Mr. Blumenthall, Mr. George Smith, Mr. L. W. Taylor, and the Editor of the *Journal of Careers* have all taken trouble in reading or making suggestions for the text, or both. Miss Eileen Simpson and Miss Betty Pegler have given great assistance in computation or stenographic work, Mr. D. T. White and Miss Margot Stebbing in preparing a final version for the printer. To these, and to Professor Tawney for writing an Introduction and Mr. A. M. Carr-Saunders for adding a Foreword, we wish to express gratitude and thanks. Finally, thanks are due to the Editor of the *Eugenics Review* for permission to quote in chapter I from

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Dr. Leybourne's article which appeared in that journal in October, 1938, and to the Editor of the 1940 issue of the *Year Book of Education* for permission to quote in chapter iv from our article therein.

G. G. L.
K. W.

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is concerned with two topics which have been much under discussion, but which hitherto have not often been discussed together. In studying population problems, it is necessary to consider what influence is exercised on the birth-rate by the various expenses which parenthood involves. Of those expenses education is one. It is the economic aspects of education, in so far as parents and children are affected by them, which form the subject of the present work.

The object of its authors is not to defend a thesis, but to assemble the evidence which may enable an old problem to be seen in a new light. They examine at some length, therefore, the different types of educational provision made in England and Wales for the young; estimate, with such rough accuracy as alone is possible, the sacrifices required of their elders in order that opportunities existing on paper may become a practical reality; and indicate the careers to which, if successfully grasped, such opportunities may lead. They ascribe no exclusive importance to the educational costs, direct and indirect, which parents incur; but they suggest that the effect of such costs on the birth-rate, though not susceptible of measurement, is too serious to be ignored, and that one aim of an enlightened policy must be to counteract it. To reduce public expenditure on education would inflict grave injury on the productive capacity and spiritual energy of the nation. Nor, apart from that, would it meet the case. It is precisely, indeed, the severity of competition for access to educational facilities varying widely in value and inadequate in scale which is one factor in the problem discussed in this book. The course of wisdom, its authors urge, is the opposite. It is to improve the educational system, both in quality and range, by all means in our power, but, also at the same time, so to modify the methods of organizing and financing it as to diminish the economic strain which the struggle to

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take full advantage of it at present imposes on the majority of families.

The first premise of this argument is difficult to challenge. It springs directly from a feature of English educational organization which the natives, who suffer from it, do their best to blink, but which foreign observers, approaching it with fresh eyes, regard sometimes with amusement, sometimes with polite contempt, but always with surprise. Educational opportunity is associated in England with wealth and social position to a greater degree than in other countries of Western Europe, in the British Dominions, in most States of the American Union, and, indeed, in Scotland. There is a public educational system for the great majority of children, and a private educational system for the select minority, whose fathers are distinguished by the possession of larger bank accounts. Even within the State system one standard of staffing, accommodation and amenities is prescribed by authority in schools known officially by the ambiguous term 'secondary'; another, and inferior one, is permitted in senior and central schools, which admit pupils at the same age and with the same need for individual attention — not to mention the same lung capacity and the same number of arms and legs — but which, since they continue, in defiance of realities, to be classed as 'elementary', are not yet accorded the same measure of consideration. Except in a minority of areas, a father with the necessary means can normally purchase the admission of his son to a secondary school. The father who cannot afford to pay fees or to keep his child out of employment may not be equally fortunate. If his son is to obtain a secondary education, as that expression is at present interpreted, he must win one of a limited number of Special Places, awarded in a competitive examination held when he is between eleven and twelve years of age. Even if he is successful, he may subsequently be prevented from taking it up, because his family is too poor to dispense with his earnings. It is needless, however, to multiply instances to illustrate a truism. Whether Disraeli's

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famous epigram is still true of the adult population need not here be discussed. The division of the young into two nations is, unhappily, beyond question. Educational policy does much to bridge the chasm. It also does much to perpetuate and deepen it.

The capricious inequalities of the English educational system have often been condemned, and condemned not least emphatically by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. Clearly, they are not defensible on grounds of equity. To consider, in treating human beings, not their personal quality, but accidents of birth and income, is the essence of injustice, and an injustice which is doubly repulsive when it injures the young. Clearly, they result in a misdirection of ability in the rising generation. Clearly, in the third place, they deprive the nation of the service of talent which it might otherwise command. They both depress the general level of attainment and cause leadership to be recruited—less exclusively, indeed, than in the past, but still predominantly—from the small circle of families which can afford to pay for an expensive education. To these familiar arguments Dr. Leybourne and Mr. White add a fourth. It is concerned with the reaction of educational inequalities on the individuals affected by them, and, through them, on their families.

A senior or central school cannot legally charge fees, while, since 1932, all secondary schools have been required to do so, as a condition of receiving grant. Out of 1240 such schools in England something over three-quarters, 975 in all, charged in 1937 fees of over £9 *gs. od.* per year, and over one-third, 475, fees of over £12 *12s. od.*, to which must be added some incidental expenses. The costs of education in the larger boarding schools are of a different order of magnitude. 'Hardly less than £220 a year', it is stated in the present work, 'is required on the average to keep a boy at a boarding school from 13 to 18, and perhaps as much at a preparatory school from 8 to 13.' Educational expenses of these dimensions are, clearly, a formidable matter,

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especially if more than one child has to be considered. Yet, in each of the instances mentioned, the advantages of the higher-priced school over its nearest alternative is commonly, and perhaps rightly, believed by parents to be substantial. In both cases, therefore, they have a strong incentive to strain every nerve to secure for their children the benefits of the more expensive kind of education.

It is the argument of the authors that the intensity of that effort is a factor of some importance in the decline of the birth-rate. They desire, accordingly, to see it relaxed. They do not believe that it can be appreciably mitigated merely by financial assistance to individuals, in the shape of scholarships; and, there no doubt, they are on firm ground. The chance of a child in the age-group 10-11 securing a Special Place at a secondary school appears to have been in 1937 roughly one in nine. Comparable figures of ex-elementary school children entering universities are, unfortunately, not available; but it is probable that the conclusion of Mr. Carr-Saunders and Mr. Caradog Jones that 'approximately 0.4 per cent of elementary pupils arrive at a University' is not a serious understatement. Even, however, were the provision for aiding able children increased, as on other grounds it should be, it is unlikely that the problem discussed in this book would be much nearer solution. What parents desire, the authors remark, is a feeling of assurance that they will be able to do the best for a child in the matter of education. The result of even the best-planned examination is affected by contingencies which cannot be foreseen; and the possibility that their boy and girl may succeed in reducing the costs of its education by a Special Place or a scholarship is too hypothetical to give them that confidence. In reality, what is required, it is here argued, is something more fundamental than can be achieved by the mere enlargement of the opportunities open to able children. It is a change in the structure of the educational system, and in the moral values which find expression in it.

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The philosophy behind English educational organization is that natural in a society which combines, like our own, a not unkindly attitude to individuals with a strong sentiment of class and a deep reverence for wealth. It is one which conceives of the educational system as, in the conventional phrase, a 'ladder' — a ladder whose upper rungs should be accessible, as a matter of course, to money, and to exceptional intelligence when strained through the sieve of a competitive examination, but whose virtue is not merely to admit to educational opportunity, but also to prevent too indiscriminate an admission. The vices of this creed have often been criticized. To-day, it would appear, it is encountering a crisis, and a crisis which is partly of its own creation. It is threatened with a breakdown, not because it has failed, but because it has been too successful.

It has taught that the duty of those who have arrived is to remain comfortably where they are, with their own snug world of educational privilege as a screen against disturbance, and of those who have not yet arrived to strive for the attainment of similar advantages, by making such haste as they can to rise in life and get on. Parents, it seems, have now learned that lesson. They accept, with pathetic docility, a situation in which the mass of children are offered an inferior education in primary schools which are under-staffed and often ill housed; but they are eager to secure special opportunities for their own children, and know that opportunities which can be provided for one child or two will be impossible of provision for three or four. What we are witnessing, in fact, if the authors' diagnosis is correct, is the nemesis of a plutocratic educational system. It is the adjustment, not of education to the needs of children, but of the number of children to the limitations of education. The principal remedies which they prescribe are two. They would deal with the major problem presented to parents by schools for which the State is responsible by a radical reconstruction of post-primary education — treating the different types of school concerned, senior, central and

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'secondary', as different species of one genus; staffing and equipping them with equal liberality; abolishing fees in the schools which now charge them; providing adequate maintenance allowances where such are required; and using the Special Place examination to decide, not whether children shall obtain a secondary education or not, but merely what kind of secondary education is best suited to them. They would deal with the minor problem of the influence of private or 'independent' schools on fertility, principally by so improving the State system as to make recourse to them less necessary.

The proposals contained in the first of these programmes are to-day old friends. The recommendations for the creation of a universal system of post-primary education advanced in the Hadow and Spens Reports do not need to be repeated. The emphasis laid in both on the necessity of securing equality of status and treatment for the schools comprised in such a system is not less familiar. More than twenty years have elapsed since, at the end of the last war, the abolition of fees at secondary schools was urged by a Departmental Committee; and the Consultative Committee of the Board, in its last Report, has returned to the same point. As far, therefore, as the educational aspects of this part of their policy are concerned, Dr. Leybourne and Mr. White are in good company. The measures which they urge have already been pressed, for purely educational reasons, by authorities whose weight is not likely to be challenged.

What relevance their proposals possess to the central problem of their book is a different question. The answer to it must largely depend on the view held of the degree of importance which educational costs at present possess, among forces of a different kind, as a factor affecting the birth-rate. On that point a layman, while noting the evidence which they adduce, cannot venture to express an independent opinion. Some readers will remain unconvinced of the connection which they seek to establish between the expense of educating children

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and the number of children born; others, while accepting their diagnosis, will reject their prescription. In order, however, to appreciate a book, it is not necessary to agree with all the views advanced in it. Even those who dissent from the conclusions of Dr. Leybourne and Mr. White will be grateful for the wealth of information which they provide, and for the suggestive discussion by which it is accompanied.

R. H. TAWNEY

EDUCATION AND THE BIRTH-RATE
A Social Dilemma

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING

§ I BARRIERS TO SOCIAL MOBILITY

THE nineteenth century has come to be regarded as Britain's great age of political democracy and personal freedom. More than that, it witnessed unprecedented efforts to override the barriers separating one group in society from another. Most important of all such efforts — and this thesis it will be the function of the following pages to establish — education came increasingly to be recognized as an eminently accessible mode on the one hand of movement in social status or on the other hand of maintenance of that status in face of competition. Moreover, this attitude to education has persisted and grown in conviction as the years passed on into the twentieth century. It is true that wide appreciation, for motives untinged by a narrow utilitarianism, has always been accorded to education; but it is not difficult to establish that quite other aims have been cherished by parents throughout the past seventy years or so.

What precisely are these hurdles, it will be asked, over which men have striven to leap, succeeding often by means of education? Despite the absence of all legal barriers directly enforcing social stratification in this country, other forces are none the less present creating obstacles that are hard to surmount. Broadly speaking, these forces can be divided into hereditary and environmental. In the first place, congenital differences of aptitudes and gifts mark off one individual from his neighbour. Many believe these differences by now to have worked in our society a separation of one class from the next. Such arguments point to the undisputed fact that for the most part membership of a class is hereditary, men tending to remain in

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the same social group into which they are born, and go on to find the cause in inborn characteristics distinguishing groups from one another. An exponent of such a theory concludes, 'The fruit of democracy is biological segregation. Its results have been and must be the replacement of socially different layers by biologically different layers: the formation of a helot class of lower intellectual and practical ability: people at the bottom who must always be at the bottom because they are biologically inferior'.¹

Few, however, even among the most ardent eugenists would be willing to subscribe to so uncompromising a view. Julian Huxley,² while conceding that the failures are likely to accumulate in lower ranks of society and the successful in upper ranks, emphasizes the total lack of eugenic significance in such stratification unless 'success' in the vulgar sense can be held 'synonymous with ultimate biological and human values', an identification which is far from established. Another writer, representative of a different school, is still more positive: 'There is insufficient evidence to justify the assumption that specific abilities of a socially adapted or economically valuable kind are transmitted from parent to offspring. In different societies the basis of division into non-competing groups has been so various that it would be a hardy disputant who would assert that, whereas in all other societies social divisions were arbitrary, in ours alone social stratification followed along lines of innate ability. This would be easier to maintain if our competitive individualism had arisen in a society previously classless; but the fact that it has grown up out of the ruins of a system of Orders and considerable civil inequality, makes it inherently all the less likely.'³ There is, then, no ground for holding that

¹ S. A. McDOWALL, *Biology and Mankind* (1931), p. 170.

² In his Galton Lecture delivered before the Eugenics Society on February 17th, 1936, on Eugenics and Society. (*Eugenics Review*, vol. xxviii, No. 1, April 1936.)

³ H. D. DICKINSON, *Institutional Revenue, A Study of the Influence of Social Institutions on the Distribution of Wealth* (1932), chap. v, p. 153.

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inborn biological differences determined by ancestry constitute lines of demarcation between entire groups in society. They may, however, render an ascent up the social ladder a much more arduous venture for one individual than for another who sets out at his side. Unquestionably, while some inborn characteristics found in all ranks of society do not render maintenance of status impossible or even difficult, they might nevertheless militate strongly against success in moving out of the social group inhabited at birth into a higher one. Intellectual capacity of a mediocre or low order, not at all incompatible with unobtrusive membership of the higher ranks in society, might well frustrate ambitions to rise on the part of one born in the lower ranks.

In the second place, barriers to mobility between groups in society are raised by environmental or institutional forces, a subdivision of which can suitably be made into economic and social. At the basis of the former, and to some extent of the latter also, lie substantial inequalities in the distribution of wealth. In 1935, according to Colin Clark,¹ 'one-tenth of the whole working population with incomes over £250, took 42% of the whole total of personal incomes, or just under half if we allow for the fact that the greater part of the non-personal

¹ *National Income and Outlay* (1937), Table 47, p. 109.

Table 47 shows:

<i>Income Distribution of Personal Incomes, 1929 and 1935.</i>				
<i>Income Limits</i>	<i>Nos. (000's)</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Income (£'s million)</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total</i>	19,662	100.00	3,741	100.00
Over £10,000	10	.05	228	6.10
£2,000-£10,000	100	.51	388	10.37
£1,000-£2,000	195	.99	235	6.29
£500-£1,000	481	2.45	309	8.26
£250-£500	1,249	6.35	402	10.74
£125-£250	5,827	29.65	1,009	26.96
Under £125	11,800	60.00	1,170	31.28

'The numbers include persons in receipt of unearned incomes above £125. Below this level, unearned income is included in the income aggregates, but persons receiving it are not included in the number of income-earners, and the classification of the numbers of income-earners at £125 and £250 is based on the distribution of earned income only. Income from Unemployment Benefit and Old Age Pensions is not included, nor is direct taxation deducted.'

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incomes, in the form of undistributed company profits and such, accrued for the benefit of the rich. A small class comprising $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the population, with "4-figure incomes" and upwards, took 23% of the whole total of personal incomes'. By far the greatest inequalities of incomes arise, however, not from earned but from unearned receipts. Thus whereas in 1919-20, 86.9% of all that earned in the United Kingdom was made up of incomes not exceeding £500, only 19.3% of all unearned receipts were composed of incomes under this limit¹ while 80.7% exceeded this figure and as much as 46.7% could be traced to those receiving incomes above £2,500. Property-holding unquestionably accounts for these large unearned incomes. In 1923-25, property was concentrated in relatively so few hands in England that 60% of its total value was held by the richest 1.0% of the people, 88% by the richest 10.0%.² If next it is asked what accounts for such a narrow concentration of property, inheritance must be the first answer, although industry or luck, gifts and fluctuations in values must be held contributory factors.³

Such extreme inequalities in wealth — and they are, in fact, even greater than these figures suggest since a personal income has normally to support a family, and the dependants of the wealthy are in general fewer than among those less comfortably off — serve as foundation stones: upon these are constructed barriers between the classes of such dimensions that to scale them is something of a feat. A child born into a home of ample income is given every advantage of physical environment, especially of home comforts and necessities, sufficient to satisfy all the conditions of sound health. In addition, his developing mind may find itself surrounded with countless objects of interest and stimulation. Books or tools can be had for the asking. When school days come there need be no sacrifice of

¹ JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, *The Economics of Inheritance* (1929), p. 44.

² WEDGWOOD, *ibid.*, p. 99.

³ In 1925-26, 105,636 estates valuing in all £456,390,000 changed hands at death in Great Britain. (WEDGWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 206.)

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abilities to the need for saving money; whatever education seems most desirable can be purchased without hesitation or restriction. Later, he need be under no compulsion to hasten his choice of a career, nor need he limit that choice except in accordance with his own aptitudes and gifts.¹ Considerations of cost or of length to such training as he might decide upon would be irrelevant. Furthermore, if he does not desire or has not sufficient ability to contemplate professional work, he need stand in little danger of not being able to find some employment dignified enough for his social status. Through his parents or their connections a satisfactory position in the world of industry or commerce can be found. Such advantages are denied in part to children in homes depending on less liberal sources of wealth and income: the poorer may lack them entirely. Their absence, however, imposes a severe, if not crippling, handicap.

Finally, in addition to barriers which can quite simply be classed as economic or biological, there is another important category which is connected with them. It has its origin in unequal distribution of wealth, but contains further elements. This category might be traced to accidents of birth perpetuated through the social, especially the family, environment. The habits, manners, and use of their common mother tongue powerfully divide one social group from another in Britain. One writer has said, 'I am convinced that the surviving feelings of social superiority and social inferiority are nourished more by habitual difference of modes of speech than by any other class difference'.² If such a statement is too sweeping, there can

¹ DALTON, *Some Aspects of the Inequality of Incomes in Modern Communities* (1929), chap. iii, considers that lack of freedom to choose an occupation can erect a wide gulf between individuals who suffer this misfortune and those able to make a choice. Many boys and girls must follow their parents' callings because little else offers in the neighbourhood of their homes, while to leave that district is out of the question. Others can enjoy little freedom of choice even where the variety of occupations is great; they must start to work at young ages after a minimum of education. It may be added that mere conservatism or ignorance on the part of parents forces many others willy-nilly into their father's trade.

² JOHN A. HOBSON, *Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lectures*, No. 1, *Towards Social Equality* (1931), p. 31.

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at least be no doubt that different ways of living and speaking do set obstacles to a free interchange between social groups.

Of organized efforts towards curtailing or removing such obstacles, by far the most profound emanate from governments through laws which provide for some redistribution of wealth. As far as this country is concerned, taxes are levied upon incomes and property, and the revenue so collected used in social services for the benefit of the community and in particular for the benefit of the poor. The most obvious form assumed by such a policy appears in expenditure upon such services as education, housing, or public health, as well as upon extension of 'income-bearing civil rights'¹ such as unemployment benefits and assistance, public assistance, payments under health insurance, old age pensions, widows' pensions, or war pensions.² Money is transferred from rich to poor, but only a fraction of tax receipts can be held to represent such transfer: the working classes themselves make substantial contributions, particularly in the form of indirect taxation, to social services. Colin Clark concludes, 'In 1913 it appears that the working classes contributed more than the cost of the services from which they were the direct beneficiaries, leaving a surplus contribution in general revenue. In 1925 working-class taxation contributed 85% of the cost of these specified beneficial expenditures; in 1935, 79%'.³ In 1935-36, the working classes paid 33% of the total taxes, i.e. their share amounted to 338 million pounds, out of which 135 million pounds were paid in indirect taxation. But although working-class taxation has increased by £73 million between 1925 and 1935, expenditure on services beneficial to the working classes meanwhile increased by £119 million.⁴ Death duties collected by the State also help in distributing

¹ The phrase is Dalton's, *op. cit.*

² They may in the future be extended in a national effort to encourage a higher birth-rate; mothers' pensions and family allowances are being widely recommended for this as well as for other ends.

³ *op. cit.*, chap. v; also Tables 61-3.

⁴ COLIN CLARK, *ibid.*

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wealth from rich to poor, and similarly perhaps, although in a small way, certain legal regulations of wages, as under the Trade Boards Acts.

Private munificence in addition helps to transfer wealth out of a few into many hands; such institutions as trade unions which tend to protect minimum wages, may have the same effect; a gradual rise in real income among certain branches of the middle and working classes, and all round reductions in hours of work, give opportunities for developing leisure-time occupations and adapting manners and dress in such a way as to reduce the distance between classes. Such non-governmental influences, however, must be counted small beside the sphere in which the State can work.

It must be plain that there still remain plenty of social barriers, and what is true to-day was even truer last century. Indeed, though much more pronounced in England than in the other Democracies, such features are a commonplace in almost any society. What is remarkable about the last hundred years or so is the growth of a powerful new sentiment, owing mainly to the leaven which was felt in most departments of our social life as the great innovations of the Industrial Revolution created a universal ferment — a sentiment urging men as never before to compete within their own class or to surmount all barriers and rise. Such impulses were fostered by the opening up of new opportunities for their gratification, a development no doubt responsive to those impulses themselves. Here then was a unique interaction of ambition and modes of satisfying it, bound to lead to remarkable results. The possibility of this interaction, as it has already been hinted, must be traced to a great age of political liberty whose economic counterpart was free movement. The formulation of the spirit of the age made by theorists from Adam Smith to Alfred Marshall, is too well known to need more than a mention. They believed that the system of free enterprise under which Britain had achieved greatness, needed free movement of individuals first of all so that the natural business leader

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could come to the fore, then that an unfettered interaction of costs and prices could direct freely moving factors of production, including labour, into employment where they could be most effective. Every school boy knows how the Victorians enjoyed in their fiction the plot in which the poor governess is able, by dint of her virtues, to jump a couple of social classes or more, and emerge in the last chapter the spouse of a rich man. Liberty of movement, both vertical and horizontal, was in the air.

§2 EDUCATION AND MOBILITY--EXAMPLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYERS

Precisely how this situation worked out for various sections of the community, the following pages are devoted to analysing. It was not always, nor at first even primarily, that men used education to move on from one social class to a higher one. It will be shown how, dictated by new business and professional needs, education was largely sought at first in order to maintain professional and social status. Education served not so much to improve the social class of its possessors as to fit them for the new world where efficiency in training became increasingly indispensable. Later, however, the range of social movement spread so far that significant movement can be described not only within a single class, but across class boundaries themselves.

It is fitting to begin with the figure who played the key rôle -- the new leader of business himself. In eras of expanding industry many sites are suddenly rendered valuable, especially if minerals or other essential raw materials are found on or near them. Owners of such sites find themselves transformed overnight from poor men to possessors of great wealth. If, in addition, they could not only capitalize their holdings, but themselves share the proceeds from working them, their wealth might easily multiply to fabulous heights. Even without the good fortune of possessing land needed by industry, many men had new

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opportunities of finding their way to positions of respect and financial security. In the new order of things certain skills, especially engineering, were in great demand and were well rewarded. With the disappearance of home industries and the spread of steam-driven mechanized factories, wealth increased in some hands as if by magic. From a negligible capital, able artisans rose from the ranks to be millowners and captains of industry. New trades appeared — builders to erect the modern factories and towns, contractors to dig canals, coal merchants to furnish the new centres, and shop-keepers to supply the new race of town-dwellers.¹ England became 'the workshop of the world, the forge of the world, the banker of the world, and the world's greatest carrier'.²

All this, however, was the work of untutored effort and ability; formal education had not yet come into this field. 'The first founders of great businesses were in most cases uneducated men, who had acquired their own knowledge of men and things, but felt no interest in the great expanse of knowledge, explored and unexplored. They had no notion that it contained anything that could be of value to them, except here and there a practical detail of which they could see the immediate application . . . There were notable exceptions, but the majority of those who founded new businesses conformed to this type.'³ Their successors, however, could not go on in the same way for long; education became more and more desirable and at last indispensable. It was railway development and the enlargement of enterprise which in a profound fashion reached to the heart of education. The inauguration of the age of speed flung an ever wider and closer mesh of communications over Great Britain, over Europe, over the world. The Industrial Revolution was converted from a movement into a landslide.

¹ See L. C. A. KNOWLES, *The Industrial and Commercial Revolution in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (1921), p. 99.

² KNOWLES, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

³ *Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Scholarships for Higher Education*, 1916, p. 2.

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Producers launched unparalleled expansions in response to an unparalleled clamour from new sources of demand. Great Britain's labour and technical force put her in a position to secure for her entrepreneurs the lion's share of new enterprise. 'It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in the middle of the century the five continents consisted of a number of countries, all chiefly and some entirely agricultural, grouped for commercial purposes round the manufacturing centre of England.'¹ The great sweep towards large-scale production began. Conditions were ripe for the unleashing of tremendous technological forces which have left a profound mark upon the laws and life of this country.

As business outgrew the scope of the old family concerns, two trends came to fulfilment. The first was the final granting in 1862, after much parliamentary experiment, of general privileges of joint-stock with limited liability. The effect of this legislation was to sanction and facilitate a new specialization of function in business, that of management in separation from ownership of capital. It was now open for almost any type of company to grow without limit upon capital gathered from shareholders in all corners of the country. In the second place, business managers ceased typically to be mechanics or investors and became financial experts intent to work out scientific principles of management and accounting in order to squeeze the last penny of profit out of the difference between costs and revenue. The figure of the new type of business leader bulked increasingly large with the growth of business units and the consequent intensification of competition and the bureaucratization of enterprise.

There could be no shadow of doubt that the day of the self-made capitalist, ignorant of formal education and despising it for his sons, was past. The revolution in methods not only of production within the firms, but also throughout industry and

¹ GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, *British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901* (1922), p. 276.

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commerce as a whole, demanded a broad and scientific training from anyone aspiring to leadership in this new age. Upon this their wealth and power would depend. If their own fears were not aroused, warnings from without were not lacking that unless they equipped themselves as required by modern conditions they might soon be replaced by the men studying in Mechanics' Institutes or in South Kensington for certificates of the Department of Science and Art. The scope, competitiveness and specialization of economic life, demanded new capacities. Small wonder then that 'raucous pleas for efficiency and knowledge [in the "public" schools] filled the nineteenth-century air'.¹

New educational needs, moreover, were not acknowledged in this country as soon as they should have been if we were to maintain our pre-eminent position in the world at large. 'At the Great Exhibition of 1851, out of a hundred different departments in which goods were displayed, Great Britain had won the palm of excellence in nearly all. But at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 she excelled her competitors in only 10%.' Lyon Playfair, who had been a juror at Paris, wrote a letter ascribing England's loss of ground to the fact that her competitors possessed "good systems of industrial education for the masters and managers of factories and work-shops", whereas England possessed none'.² Germany was giving cause for serious alarm not only to militarists but to the business classes. How came it that after her late start Germany was already outstripping us in industrial and commercial competition? The answer was plain: she was better educated, her leaders in particular being trained and practised in technical and professional competence. While in England the 'old faith in experience, in practical, instinctive capacity',³ had not yet been completely relinquished and while many still felt that 'the personal energy of the manufacturer [and] the high quality of his wares [could] make up for an ignorance of

¹ EDWARD C. MACK, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780 to 1860* (1938),

p. 393.

² R. C. K. ENSOR, *Oxford History of England, 1870-1914* (1936), p. 319.

³ G. M. YOUNG, *Victorian England; The Portrait of An Age* (1936), p. 164.

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chemistry and the metric system . . .',¹ the German executive class was being thoroughly trained for the needs of the time. Furthermore, whereas 'in Great Britain — outside the class of landowners — the men of power and position were manufacturers, merchants, shipowners, bankers, all . . . practical men, who owed little to government or science . . . in Germany, the leadership of the nation, outside of official circles, lay with the learned caste, which was numerous, respected, and profoundly convinced of the universal value of science. The higher officials had for the most part passed through the Universities'.² Neither our industrial and commercial leaders themselves, nor the country at large, could afford to delay any longer recognizing that in the new scientific world our executive class must acquire an education if they were not to be altogether out-classed by new rivals.

But there were other events at home urging this recognition upon the new industrialists. The most important of these was undoubtedly reform in the Civil Service. From 1832 onwards, law after law of social reform was set on the statute book; the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834; Municipal Corporations Act of 1835; the Public Health Act of 1848, with which must also be associated the Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846 and 1847, the Town Improvements Clauses of 1847, the Lodging Houses Act of 1851, and the Burials' Act of 1852; the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1847. In the registration of births, marriages and deaths, a framework was also adopted in 1838 for the Poor Laws. Demands upon the administrative apparatus of government, both central and local, were growing more and more complex and extensive. It became urgent to secure as administrators men of high training and tested ability. Yet, as late as the middle of the century, patronage still dominated appointments to the Civil Service. 'Since the privileged families were especially anxious to provide maintenance at the public expense

¹ YOUNG, *Victorian England; The Portrait of An Age* (1939), p. 164.

² *Report of the Consultative Committee*, 1916, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

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for those of their members who were least likely to make their own way in life, the reputation of Whitehall for laziness and incompetence was proverbial.¹ Years ahead, politicians sold offices and salaries; and when the time came to fill the post, agents could be employed by the office-holder at a pittance.² Abolition of these scandals was long delayed, but it came at last through the gateway of open competitive examinations.

Gradually through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in their efforts to raise the standard of education, developed the modern mechanism of testing by written examination. Even earlier, written examinations may have been used by schools³ in testing candidates for scholarships, but only spasmodically and never as an integral part of the examination. After 1700, however, the new method came more and more into force, especially in the universities. Trinity College, Cambridge, led the way under the Mastership of Richard Bentley (1700-42), and the reorganization of the mathematical tripos between 1747 and 1755 represented a spectacular gain for new ways. Its influence was profound. In 1800, Oxford passed the New Examination Statute which also made use of the principle of competition. By 1852 it might have been said of both universities as it was of Oxford, that 'the examinations have become the chief instrument not only for testing the proficiency of the students but also for stimulating and directing the studies of the place . . . The general effect of this change has been exceedingly beneficial. Industry has been greatly increased'.⁴ Meanwhile, the need

¹ TREVELYAN, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

² See HERMAN FINER, *The British Civil Service* (1937), p. 33.

³ It is claimed, but not fully established, that part of the scholarship examination for St. Paul's was in writing even during its founder's (i.e. Dean Collet's) lifetime. The school was founded in 1510. Sir MICHAEL SADLER, *Essays in Examinations* (1936), p. 33, footnote, quotes Mr. W. ROUSE BALL, *History of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge* (1899), p. 193, 'who says that there is no record of any written examination in Europe earlier than 1702, when Bentley introduced one at Trinity College, Cambridge'. (See below.)

⁴ *Report of the Oxford University Commission* (1852), p. 61.

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had arisen, and efforts were made, to apply this same system to responsible government work.

To this latter problem, Jeremy Bentham devoted much thought, and finally published in 1827 a detailed plan for training and testing men for work in public departments.¹ Bentham's scheme divested of certain fantastic details was applied first to the Indian, and later to the Home, Civil Service. The germ of 'open competitive examination' was generated by an Act of 1833 regulating entry to Haileybury School in preparation for the East India Company's employment.² This measure required four candidates to be nominated for each vacancy to the school and an examination to be set in order to choose between the four. Later, in 1853, the Company's Charter came before Parliament for renewal, and Macaulay secured the abolition of patronage and acceptance of the principle of open competition for all candidates.³ It was not long before the English Civil Service showed that they too accepted the principle, although another seventeen years had to pass before its formal expression was complete in law.

Already in the first half of the century, Kay and Chadwick had agitated for examinations, and had even been successful in persuading the General Board of Health to introduce written examinations for admission to inspectorships in engineering. There followed, between 1848 and 1852, investigations into individual government departments, and during the following two years, Trevelyan and Northcote, directed by a Treasury

¹ In the *Constitutional Code*.

² Twenty years earlier, speaking about the East India Company in the House of Lords, Lord Grenville said:

the most obvious course would be to choose young men who are destined for the civil service by free competition and public examination from our great schools and universities (see *Parliamentary Debates*, 1813, vol. xxv, col. 727).

In that same year an Act was passed making four years of training at the recently established Haileybury College compulsory before young men could go out to India in the Company's service. Unfortunately, however, not only was this Act undone by another in 1826, but entry to the school became governed largely by patronage.

³ See FINER, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

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Minute issued by Gladstone, surveyed the entire Civil Service. They presented their report to Parliament in 1854 and a year later an Order in Council appeared setting up the Civil Service Commission — a central board of examiners 'for conducting the examinations of young men proposed to be appointed to any of the junior situations in the Civil Establishments'. The principle of competition had been admitted, but not yet that of open competition. During the years when this Order was in operation, it was customary to notify heads of schools or others likely to know boys suitable for any vacancy in the Service. Candidates could then be nominated for competition. Such boys were for the most part 'sons of professional men and independent gentlemen'.¹ The offspring of merchants and industrialists were notably absent. Furthermore, not only were opportunities for examination restricted to certain sections of the community privileged to nomination, but senior appointments remained unaffected by the new regulations. The number of posts filled as the result of a test remained negligible. During 1866, ten years after the Order in Council was fully in operation, only 265 persons entered the Civil Service by competition, in contrast to 3,400 by nomination alone.² It was not until the Order in Council of 1870, when public competitive examinations were made compulsory for entrance to most important branches of the Service, that a real step was taken towards abolishing patronage. Certain of the higher officers were still to be appointed by the Crown³ with no certification what-

¹ The *Civil Service Commissioners' Report* for 1856. They made a special study in that year of the social position of 46 candidates for clerkships. They found that 28 out of the 46 were 'the sons of professional men and independent gentlemen'.

² The number of candidates successful in competition for the Indian Civil Service was even smaller; 20 in 1855, 80 in 1860, and 50 in 1865. After this date it averaged about 30 for a quarter of a century.

³ Including the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service. The latter was recruited by no more than a 'qualifying test' until as late as 1880. In that year a certain limit was set to patronage in this Service by a system of 'limited competition' which operated until 1919. The Foreign Office had introduced such 'limited competition' in 1857, but the Macdonnell Commission of 1912 was not

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ever by the Commissioners. Positions requiring definite professional knowledge, e.g. in law, architecture, chemistry, together with certain minor posts if the head of a Department so desired, could be filled by the Commissioners without examination. For the rest, however, open competitive examinations, advertised in the *London Gazette* and other newspapers, were to be the rule.

At last careers in the Service were open to the sons of the new industrialists,¹ but these had to face the rigours of a competitive examination often designed to test all-round scholarship. Consequently, an adequate schooling or university training for the upper branches of the Service became essential. It was well known that successful candidates in Indian Civil Service examinations, with very few exceptions, boasted a 'public'² school education and often a university training in addition. Competitions held before 1870 for work in the Home Service had proved to require a similar standard of education. As early as 1856, the Civil Service Commissioners found that out of 46 candidates for 3 junior clerkships and 1 senior, 25 had finished their education at a university, while 16 out of the remaining 21 were educated at large 'public' schools or well-known grammar schools. Only 5 had risen no further than a private school training.³ The way to success in the paths of competition now opened up was clear. It demanded nothing short of the very best education England could provide.

¹ Almost simultaneously, CARDWELL's *Army Regulation Bill*, 1871, abolished the system, which had prevailed until then, of purchasing commissions in the army. This system had 'prevented the selection and promotion of officers by merit [and] enabled rich youths to buy themselves into positions for which they were quite untrained'. (ENSOR, *op. cit.*). Once more our feet were led into the paths of reform by the example of Prussian efficiency.

² When in inverted commas, 'public' school is used in the traditional sense, i.e., not a State school. For closer definition see chap. iii.

³ Report 1856, *vide supra*, footnote 1, page 31.

satisfied that either of these branches were recruited or organized to the best national advantage. To-day, candidates appear before a Board which selects those who possess 'suitable qualifications for entry into the Foreign Office or Diplomatic Service'. Only those so selected can compete at the examination.

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Before long education became equally necessary for most professions, step by step, as these, following the example set by the Civil Service, instituted entrance examinations requiring extensive and thorough knowledge, theoretical as well as practical. Among the professions, the Society of Apothecaries led the way. Centuries previously the ancient Inns of Court and the Royal College of Physicians had concerned themselves with the standards of competence of those practising in law or medicine; but, 'by the eighteenth century [these bodies] had ceased to interest themselves in training, and the tests imposed upon entrants were of no value; in the case of the former they were little more than tests of social accomplishments'.¹ It remained to the less distinguished but more energetic Society of Apothecaries, which had kept alive their own system of testing, to lead the way in introducing modern examinations to the professions. The Apothecaries Act of 1815 gave the Society power to examine all men who claimed to be practising their craft throughout England and Wales, and the Society undertook the operation of the Act with thoroughness, very early turning to written examinations in the modern fashion. Two other efforts in the same direction were made in the first half of the century, but 'the use of examination tests did not become general in the professions until the second half of the century and was largely due to the example of the Civil Service'.² From this time onwards, however, examination was undertaken in earnest in the professional world and gradually came to mean something altogether different from a perfunctory interviewing of candidates.

Notable as the Apothecaries Act was in bringing into being a system of medical education — our modern medical schools owing their origin solely to this Act — the medical world still remained crowded with unqualified practitioners. The powers

¹ CARR-SAUNDERS and WILSON, *The Professions* (1933), p. 309. We are indebted to these authors for the following facts on the development of the modern technique of examining for entrance to professions.

² CARR-SAUNDERS and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

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of the Society were too restricted to deal adequately with the evil. Furthermore, the functional and territorial limitations to the licensing powers given universities and corporations, for long a source of confusion, remained unaltered. The new spirit, however, had sufficiently infected the medical world to make agitation inevitable for wide reforms especially in education and exclusion of the unqualified. The Medical Act of 1858 was the outcome. It created the General Medical Council as a controlling authority with wide powers to execute reforms and to undertake responsibility for the medical register set up under the Act. Medical education was at last shepherded on to the road of reform and progress when ultimate authority over all the licensing bodies — 18 universities and 9 medical corporations — was placed in the hands of the Council. Unqualified practice was still not illegal, but valuable privileges were attached to registration.

While the medical profession had thus gone far, the law — our other ancient profession — was still labouring far behind. The middle ages had known an organized system of training for the Bar which took the form of the moots and readings in the Inns of Court. After that period, however, until as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, students were left to their own devices in picking up whatever training they needed for a career at the Bar. A select committee appointed in 1846 to 'inquire into the state of legal education', deplored 'the absence in both branches of the profession [solicitors and barristers] of any provision for education in the science of law or in the legal systems of other nations, and, in the case of solicitors at all events, of any preliminary test of general education'.¹ Fourteen years later, the Solicitors Act was passed requiring a preliminary examination in general knowledge. The Inns of Court also established examinations, but by granting a choice between examination and attendance at lectures guaranteed their avoidance by most students. It took until 1872 to make examinations compulsory.

¹ CARR-SAUNDERS and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

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Meanwhile, and henceforth throughout the century, other less eminent professions were concerned to build up machinery for the purpose of testing by examination the competence of those who desired recognition in the profession. In 1862, the President of the Institute of British Architects (later, the Royal Institute) said: 'The fact of the system of Examination for Offices in all the services under the Government having worked satisfactorily, seems to have led to a desire to introduce a similar system into the Education of an Architect.'¹ The same desire was making itself felt so widely that during the twenty years following the middle of the century belief in examinations became paramount in the minds of all those anxious to see both patronage and unqualified practice abolished from every corner of the social system, in favour of trained and tested ability. Examinations, however, could not be inaugurated without presupposing education on a scale never before contemplated in this country. Education had finally to cast off the cloaks of privilege and luxury which it still seemed to wear. Education presented itself now as nothing short of a rigid necessity to those anxious that their children should take advantage of the new opportunities in the Civil Service or in a professional world awakening to the need of testing competence. For the new industrialist, then, whether he hoped to establish his offspring in these latter spheres or in industry and commerce, the responsibility for securing a wide education for his children could no longer be shirked.

At first, education undoubtedly stood in the minds of these 'new men' for this greater competing efficiency. As a group they had a tradition of their own, one of rugged independence, modelling itself on nothing but their individualism. Of this they were proud. They 'stood four-square to the world with a certain self-respect. They may have wanted money, to enjoy or to hoard, but they did not dream of using it to buy themselves out of their class. Being respectable why should they aspire to be

¹ Institute of British Architects, *Sessional Papers*, 1862, pp. 8 and 9.

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genteel?'¹ But about 1870 a change began to be apparent. These new producers began to lose their sturdy pride and the self-importance at which Matthew Arnold and other critics have pointed. The acute observation of Dickens, for example, was quick to sense this change.² For over more than thirty years Dickens had been pouring out a wealth of stories and articles portraying the middle class of the day, when in 1865 he published *Our Mutual Friend*, his last completed novel. But here the middle class represented by the Veneerings contrasts with his earlier characterization of it. 'Mr. and Mrs. Veneering were bran-new people in a bran-new house in a bran-new quarter of London. Everything about the Veneerings was spick-and-span new. All their furniture was new, all their friends were new, all their servants were new, their harness was new, their horses were new, their pictures were new, they themselves were new.'³ Dickens's shrewd pen had discerned, and hit off, a new generation among the middle classes, ashamed of their rugged origins, and anxious above all else to lose that mark by securing recognition among the ranks of the traditional landowners. They invested in manor houses and hoped to become country gentlemen.

The forces contributing to this changed attitude are no doubt manifold, but among them the evolution towards 'Big Business' must occupy a prominent place. 'There was not the same pride to be derived from such bureaucratic service as from the pettiest autocracy . . . The very success of British business had its effect on the business man.'⁴ Intent now on securing recognition as gentlemen, they desired for their children the education of gentlemen and gentlewomen, in contrast to their own. They could not look forward to a free blending between themselves and the aristocracy while by a word or gesture their offspring might easily betray an alien origin and lack of aristocratic

¹ ESMÉ WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, *The Victorian Sunset* (1932), p. 48.

² Compare WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³ CHARLES DICKENS, *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), chap. ii.

⁴ WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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training. Education now took on a new desirability — not only for rising in the economic world, but in the social world, too. For their sons, a 'public' school, followed perhaps by a university, and even for their daughters something more than a governess at home, had to be contemplated. Much earlier in the century, education had not altogether escaped the attention of a certain section among the new and powerful group of leaders created in society by the industrial revolution. As these entrepreneurs acceded to political power in 1832, and in 1846 wrested economic power from the landed, they became impatient to inherit every sort of privilege. Relying on the power of wealth, they prepared to penetrate institutions hitherto closed to them. When, therefore, the development of railways in the third decade brought rural shires to the doors of the towns, they began sending their sons to 'public' schools as well as to the local endowed grammar schools. Such a custom, however, awakened little enthusiasm among the great majority of these 'new men' until some forty years later when competition in economic, professional and social spheres provided irrefutable arguments for education of no superficial kind. Then they conceived a firm belief in education for their own children — even a passion, which has never cooled.

Here, then, is an example of how economic developments fertilized social growth. When the industrial demand for training and competence had made itself sufficiently felt, tests for competence were devised, in response to which a new education had to be created. Behold a magnificent new opening by which a leap might be taken across social barriers! With the opportunity in sight and offering an invitation, impulses already present to men's minds began to come to fruition. Education as a socio-economic instrument, rather than as an autonomous branch of culture, was being recognized and established. The rest of this chapter will be devoted to showing how this recognition came to other sections of the community as well as to the industrial leaders, and to studying its effects.

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§3 EXPENSIVE EDUCATION

A. Reform

It had always been understood that educational differences could stereotype class or group divisions. The marks of an inferior schooling could always hinder intercourse with superiors. Now, however, it is time to demonstrate how the great bulk of the people came to learn how to handle educational opportunities in such a way as to abolish obstacles which seemed to block the way of movement from one rung of the social ladder to the next. Certain inborn characteristics, it is true, might remain a constant stumbling block,¹ but even such difficulties, it was discovered, were sometimes exaggerated and would yield to environmental correction. If an adequate training could sometimes overcome even those handicaps which had seemed an inviolable part of the individual's inheritance, how much more useful and effective was it in throwing down those barriers set up by purely environmental causes! If only the proper education traditionally associated with a particular class in society could be secured for a child whatever the circumstances of the home from which he came and into which he was born, he would be reasonably sure of that easy acceptance which marks a relationship between those who share the same social status, and is patently lacking when one is superior to the other. Every barrier may not be overcome through education; education may not, and indeed only rarely does, lead to a large fortune. But it can do much. Similar education, it was soon apparent, led to similar social habits, manners and even ways of speaking. But were not these latter, after all, the crux of the matter in dividing one group from another, and would not a common possession of accomplishments justify common membership of one and the same social group?

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 18-19.

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Consequently, parents in all ranks of society have increasingly striven to give their children an education superior to their own and if possible superior to that of their neighbours' children. But these new ambitions could not be supported without a cost. Many parents naturally looked to the scholarship system, which had survived from medievalism to take on a new lease of life when demand for education became clamorous in the nineteenth century. They looked to this system to secure for them the training they desired but could ill afford. Such opportunities, moreover, expanded rapidly when the twentieth century dawned, but by that time the need felt for education had become an obsession of such power and universality that many had to face the alternatives of giving up the ambitions they had set for themselves in training their offspring, or else of making economies and sacrifices in order to meet the cost. The pressure of these new expenses has proved heavy in proportion to the family income and the precise form of education aimed at. Families with moderate incomes will have felt the strain no less than poor men, for those with moderate incomes are often not content with a moderately-priced education suited to their pockets, but strain to reach expensive educations devised for ample exchequers. In the following pages, therefore, it will be maintained that all these struggles to educate children at a greater cost than family incomes could easily bear have had important but inevitable repercussions on the size of families. In such circumstances, large families became prohibitively expensive.¹

We are thus brought to the necessity of discussing the influence upon the birth-rate, among various sections of the community, of schooling and other such costs.² In such a discussion

¹ ARSÈNE DUMONT in *Dépopulation et Civilisation* has already pointed to 'social capillarity' as a force working against the birth-rate in France.

² This is done for current costs in later chapters, where most relevant aspects of our modern educational system will be discussed. Adult education alone will be excluded, for the very good reason that, as usually understood, it has no vocational bias and makes little appeal to ambitions except to those for general cultural refinements.

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no artificial simplicity of motive need be assumed. It is acknowledged that the cost of education forms only part of the wider category of economic causes, and that other forces, biological, religious, psychological and social, have contributed to the new situation of a birth-rate falling with ever-increasing momentum from year to year. Unquestionably, the Seventies of last century formed a watershed for every field of England's social and economic life, and moreover a watershed of the most complex geography. Nevertheless, a study of developments during last century yields much evidence which is conclusive, more that is suggestive, of how an influence upon the size of families has been exerted by new responsibilities and desires for education.¹

It has now been shown how the new business leaders came to believe in education, a belief which in its turn worked a most beneficial change in the state of education itself. How did other sections of the people come to recognize the socio-economic function of the educational ladder and to conceive a thirst for learning for their own children? A beginning must be made by surveying the creation of new educational opportunity, and the narrative must return to the early years of last century when education was still decadent as never before.

At that time, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, although the only universities in existence in England and Wales, had to exclude by law Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. 'Instead of being national centres of learning and instruction, they were little more than comfortable monastic establishments for clerical sinecurists with a tinge of letters.'²

¹ It must be admitted that the presence of such a complexity of motives, none of which is susceptible of exact quantitative assessment relative to the others, is bound to detract from the scientific status of the present study, as well as of all other studies, directed towards determining the causes of changed fertility. This fact, however, in no way detracts from the practical value, especially for the purpose of policy-making, of this study, since each cause at work once isolated, it is possible to invent experimental treatment of each, although its relative importance may not be exactly determinable. Costs of education are especially excellent in suggesting a policy, because of their obvious and crude financial nature.

² TREVELYAN, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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The Inns of Court and Royal College of Physicians, entrusted with responsibility for directing the study of law and medicine, were in much the same condition. A similar slumber sat upon the schools, once the nurseries of Newton, Milton and Gibbon. 'It has been estimated that the condition of our "public" or higher schools was worse between 1750 and 1840 than at any time since King Alfred. The grammar schools were largely derelict, often scandalous. Sometimes for half a century or more only half a dozen boys might have attended the school at some large centre of population. In 1734 there were no boys at all in the Birmingham school. From 1832 to 1836 one boy at Chesterfield made up the school. A do-nothing clerical master, sometimes absentec, absorbed what endowment there was. The master of Berkhamsted School in 1835 lived in Derbyshire and took the endowment, while the school was entirely empty.'¹ Boarding houses in the 'public' schools were so ill-regulated that members of the upper class bold enough to entrust their sons to them were decidedly in the minority. At the opening of the nineteenth century, 'apart from the ceremonial of Eton and Christ Church for the aristocracy, a public-school education was no necessary part of the social curriculum. Of Victorians born in good circumstances, neither Macaulay (born 1800) nor Tennyson (born 1809), Newman (born 1801), Disraeli (born 1804), . . . got their schooling in that way, and at the University or in after-life it made no difference'.² For 200 years private education by tutors had been the common practice,³ usually followed by a period at 'the knightly or courtly academies on the Continent'⁴ or later by the 'grand tour'. Consequently, the ancient English schools had fallen into such

¹ F. S. MARVIN, *The Century of Hope* (1919), p. 204.

² YOUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³ Fielding's reflection on 'public' schools, 'public schools are the nurseries of all vice and immorality' (*The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, 1742), expressed a common attitude to these institutions during the eighteenth century.

⁴ Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, 1938, under the chairmanship of Sir W. Spens (hence, the *Spens Report*) Historical Sketch, p. 10.

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disrepute that when the new industrialists first began casting round for ways of educating their sons, they were inclined to favour their attendance as day pupils in private academies. For not only was organization and administration in 'public' and grammar schools shoddy, but the curriculum still wore its shackles of medieval classicism and fell painfully short of any appeal to men who were the products of the new age. So far the industrial revolution had made no impression on these schools. As late in the century as 1864, when the Royal Commission on Public Schools reported,¹ the classical tradition was still enshrined, and despite a large measure of sympathy for such a system, the Commissioners could not but deplore the almost complete exclusion of modern subjects, and of natural science in particular, from the education of England's higher classes — 'a plain defect and a great practical evil'. Thus, at Eton instruction was given in no foreign language, while natural science at Rugby was an optional alternative to languages and at Eton was the subject of occasional lectures. While yet lapped in this deathlike lethargy, these schools were bound not only to continue forfeiting what little respect the traditional upper classes still felt for them, but also to give ground before new establishments prepared to respond to new needs. As the century advanced, however, great changes in these, as in all educational institutions, accompanied developments in the national life as a whole.

The work of regeneration in the grammar schools was begun by Brougham's Commission of 1818, but effective revival had to wait for several decades, because the railway network which, it has already been indicated, assisted in the resuscitation of the 'public' schools ruined some and jeopardized others of the grammar schools.² Mere accessibility alone, however, could never

¹ The Commission was appointed in 1861 to inquire into the administration of the nine great public schools—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury.

² See G. A. N. LOWNDES, *The Silent Social Revolution. An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1935* (1937), p. 46.

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have restored the 'public' schools to a high place in general esteem or elevated them to the national institutions they were soon to become. Reform from within was urgent. Through the zeal of new headmasters, notably Samuel Butler at Shrewsbury, John Russel at Charterhouse, and most renowned of all, Thomas Arnold at Rugby, 'public' schools became transformed.

Throughout the first twenty years of the century it would have been difficult to find any responsible person willing to defend these schools against even the most bitter criticisms. By the middle of the century, the boarding 'public' schools had become generally established as 'the proper places of education for the sons of the gentlefolk'.¹ Being restored to prestige in the eyes of the upper classes, however, would not have been enough to guarantee their whole-hearted acceptance by the new men recently risen to power and wealth. That acceptance was largely ensured by reforms which included the introduction of modern studies. It was also rendered the more certain since, with the endowed grammar schools unregenerated and very unevenly distributed over the country,² day schools which had at one time stood every chance of claiming the support of the new class of industrialists, could offer no effective competition. The Schools Inquiry Commission found the teaching in most of the grammar schools of England and Wales in a deplorable condition; systematic teaching of English, much less of science or modern languages, was seldom found, and even the classics were absent from the curricula of some 40% of schools. In the latter, the instruction available was little better than that in many elementary schools.³ England's grammar schools were in no sense able to offer a counter-attraction to boarding school

¹ *Spens Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² This was emphasized by the *Schools Inquiry Commission* reporting in 1868. (This Royal Commission had been appointed in 1864 to inquire into the education in secondary schools not covered by the earlier Public Schools Commission.) The populous areas were badly provided for and areas of sparse population over-liberally. For statistics of distribution see *Year Book of Education*, 1939, Regional Provision of Post-Primary Education in England, by N. HANS, Table 3.

³ See *Spens Report*, pp. 29-32.

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life. 'If the grammar schools had been equipped for their task, it is very probable that our higher education would, to our great advantage, have developed on a less expensive, less exclusive, basis. Practical parents disliked a purely classical curriculum; sensitive parents were dismayed by the tales of squalor, cruelty, and disorder which were told of almost every public school; and religious parents, warned by Cowper's *Tirocinium*, hesitated to entrust young boys to institutions which gave only a formal security for piety and morals.

'Arnold reconciled the serious classes to the public school . . . But for Arnold's influence, it is not at all improbable that out of the many experiments then being made in proprietary schools some more modern alternative might have struck root and become ascendant.'¹

It has already been shown that in due course many forces conspired to persuade not merely a minority as at first, but most of the new upper middle classes, how essential for their needs and aims was a schooling equal to the best that England could offer.² By the middle of the century, then, it had become generally accepted that this was to be found nowhere but in the boarding 'public' schools. The career of the 'public' school boy became stereotyped, including his years at the preparatory schools which were rapidly increasing in importance to replace leisurely hours in rectory drawing-rooms. Before long, necessity became a virtue. Boarding school life grew to be indispensable for those who would join the socially elite.³ Day boys even at the

¹ YOUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 97. The author quotes as an example of these experiments the school conducted at Hazelwood by Thomas Wright Hill, helped by his sons Matthew Davenport Hill and Rowland Hill. (See MACK, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70.) This school was opened by the early Twenties. Soon other day proprietary schools of some importance followed: Liverpool Institute (1825), King's College School (1829), University College School (1830), Blackheath Proprietary School (1831), The City of London School (1837) and Liverpool College (1840). (See *Spens Report, op. cit.*, p. 24.)

² *vide supra*, pp. 36 and 37.

³ It is significant that the number of boys at Eton increased from 444 in 1836 to 777 by 1846, and after certain fluctuations to 820 in 1860, from which point it rose steadily to 953 in 1875. It exceeded 1000 for the first time in 1891,

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best schools could not expect acceptance on a basis of equality. The boarding school had finally established itself as the acknowledged place of superior education. The new commercialists, therefore, withdrew their support from ventures in proprietary schools and transferred it, with all the backing of their wealth, to the provision of new boarding schools on the model of the old 'public' schools. 'Stockholding companies' were responsible, in part at least, for the establishment of many of these new schools,¹ whose design in some instances was to provide a satisfactory boarding school life on a somewhat less extravagant scale than the old schools demanded.

In many of them, disciples or imitators of Arnold were in power working out in their own fashion the new ideals. Inevitably, many of the new schools soon went farther and faster than the old. If they were less bound by antiquated statutes of founders, they were also for the most part less generously endowed — when indeed they enjoyed the security of an endowment at all. They could afford to show no hesitancy in responding to the demands of the time for a less exclusive devotion to the classics and for the introduction of mathematics, natural science, and modern languages. Arnold himself had been bitterly opposed to vocational aims in education, and for that reason denounced the system of marks, such as that tried by Butler in Shrewsbury, as 'a utilitarian business-world idea'.² The new schools, however, and gradually the old ones also,

¹ See *Spens Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 24. 'The most famous schools of this type were Cheltenham College (1841), Marlborough College (1843), Rossall School (1844), Radley College (1847), Wellington College (1853), Epsom College (1855), Bradfield College (1859), Haileybury (1862), Clifton College (1862), Malvern School (1863) and Bath College (1867).' The Report of the Public Schools Commission (1864) still classed these foundations among proprietary schools, but they were none the less soon, if not already, accorded 'public' school rank. According to E. L. CLARKE, *Sociological Review*, July 1936 (vol. xxviii, No. 3), 51 boarding 'public' schools were founded during the nineteenth century, of which 37 owe their origin to the years between 1840 and 1880. In addition many old foundations were transformed from day to boarding schools during these years.

² Quoted by MACK, *op. cit.*, p. 266, from ARNOLD WHITRIDGE'S *Dr. Arnold of Rugby* (1928), p. 126.

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embraced not only the marking system but also the new examination technique. A large part of their function was, after all, to prepare their pupils for the examinations which were becoming more and more inescapable for entrance to public appointments or professional status.¹ It is true that at the beginning of the century, the examinations introduced at Shrewsbury under Butler had failed to influence the other 'public' schools; but even these latter could not resist the pressure of public opinion when examinations became generally accepted by the Civil Service and the professions. In consequence, after 1850, 'the curriculum of most of the better boys' schools, both endowed and private, began to be largely determined by the requirements of various external tests such as the examinations for the Indian Civil Service and the Home Civil Service, first held in 1855, the London Matriculation Examination, the Oxford Local Examinations and the Cambridge Local Examinations, both first held in 1858, and the examinations of the College of Preceptors, instituted in 1853'.² In 1873 the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board was established. Finally, the middle of the century had witnessed, in the field of open competition, the appearance of entrance scholarships for Oxford and Cambridge.³ At the other end of the school ladder also, examinations and open competition became generally adopted. Admission to foundation, or to other, scholarships offered by schools had been generally governed by favouritism and family connection, but now this system of scholarships in England's old schools, 'relic of medievalism'⁴ as it was, became remodelled to take its place under the new conditions.

A bringing up to date of the method of appointment to

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 28-35.

² *Spens Report*, p. 36.

³ This was secured by Acts of 1854 and 1856 which gave effect respectively to the recommendations of the Royal Commissions of 1850-52 on Oxford and on Cambridge. Previously, out-of-date university regulations had disqualified large numbers from competing, even where elections were decided by competition and not by mere nomination.

⁴ SIR MICHAEL SADLER, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

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scholarships was not, however, the only change made in the administration of ancient trusts. Under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, commissioners were appointed with extensive powers of investigating and reorganizing educational trusts.¹ They were particularly urged to see whether it would not be possible to extend some of these trusts to make provision for the education of girls. Up to this stage, girls had been deemed to need nothing more than a home governess. 'Education . . . meant a grounding of morals and behaviour to last all through life, and a top dressing of accomplishments intended partly to occupy the girl's mind, partly to attract men, and, in the last resort, to earn a living by if all else failed.'² Schools of the type provided for boys could hold no place in such a training. Consequently, the Schools Inquiry Commission found in existence no more than 23 schools which could reasonably be called secondary schools for girls, and few even of these were endowed. Boys monopolized the great majority, if not the sum total, of the 535 endowed secondary schools open at that time.³ Accordingly, from 1869 onwards, wherever possible, old endowments were partly diverted to the new purpose of providing for the education of girls.

Earlier in the century, the movement towards such provision had been initiated in an attempt to get a suitable training for women who intended to teach. The Governesses' Benevolent Association set the ball rolling when, three years after its foundation in 1843, it established examinations through which governesses could secure certificates. 'This led directly to the establishment of lectures for them and so to the foundation of Queen's College, Harley Street, London, in 1848, with the

¹ This Act was the outcome of recommendations for reform in secondary schools made by the Schools Inquiry Commission in its report of 1868. The Endowed Schools Commission was merged in the Charity Commission in 1874.

² YOUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

³ The *Spens Report* (p. 45, footnote) states that there were 14 endowed secondary schools for girls in 1868 and quotes in evidence the School Inquiry Commission p. 565. HANS (*op. cit.*, p. 140) states that not one of the 535 endowed schools were for girls.

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support of F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and others.¹ Other educational institutions for women, likewise founded for the purpose of preparing women for various public examinations gradually being opened to them, were soon to appear: Bedford College, London, started modestly with classes in a private house in 1848, Girton College was founded at Hitchin in 1869 and moved to Cambridge in 1873, Newnham College also having been established in Cambridge in 1871.²

Once the higher education of women had thus received some attention, a searchlight was naturally turned on the schooling of girls, where the exceedingly backward condition revealed by the Schools Inquiry Commission came in for attack. Pioneers like Miss Buss at the North London Collegiate School and Miss Beale at the Cheltenham Ladies' College³ had shown how an education for girls more in consonance with the spirit of the new age could be achieved. New secondary schools for girls modelled on these colleges soon followed one another in rapid succession. Not only were girls' schools provided by the diversion of old endowments⁴ so that by 1897 there were 86 endowed schools for girls, with 14,119 pupils, and 31 endowed schools for boys and girls with 3035 pupils,⁵ but many new schools were established by denominational and undenominational corporations formed for this purpose. Notable among the latter was the Girls' Public Day School Company designed 'to

¹ *Spens Report*, p. 42.

² The Cambridge Colleges appeared in response to the need for training women for the Cambridge Local Examinations to which they were first officially admitted in 1865.

³ The College in London was founded in 1850 and that of Cheltenham in 1853. Both Miss Buss and Miss Beale had been among the first students at Queen's College.

⁴ Important examples of such diversions can be given. 'The surplus revenues of King Edward's Schools at Birmingham provided for the first four endowed schools for girls. In the Seventies, the famous school of Miss Buss in London received its endowment from the Platt Charity. In Bradford, part of the old endowment was apportioned "to supply a liberal education for girls", and at Manchester several girls' schools were endowed from the Hulme's Charity. Later the Harpur Trust in Bedford provided for two schools for girls, and the Alleyn's Charity for two schools at Dulwich.' (HANS, *op. cit.*, p. 161.)

⁵ *Spens Report*, p. 45, footnote.

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supply for girls the best education possible, corresponding with the education given to boys in the great Public Schools'.¹ By 1900 more than 7100 girls attended the 33 schools already opened by the company.

That girls' education would not develop solely along these day school lines, however, was inevitable at a time when boarding schools had succeeded in establishing themselves as the *sine qua non* for boys who would occupy the front ranks of society. Whereas a large number of boys' boarding schools were already in existence to form the nucleus of the new order, there existed no such schools for girls; yet the movement for girls' education showed no inclination to take advantage of this freedom from tradition. Its only object seems to have been to create a system of education for girls as nearly as possible like that in existence for boys. The cause of good day schools having been successfully launched, therefore, attention was turned to boarding schools.

The first, St. Leonard's, appeared at St. Andrews in 1877 and a number of others were soon founded on the same model. There was no doubt that social snobbery would attract those who could afford it to the boarding school world. No longer did it remain possible for the ambitious father in the higher classes to feel that a relatively cheap education for his daughter would go some way towards offsetting the expense of an education he could not decently shirk for his son. From this time, education for women never faltered in its forward stride, and among certain classes the girl who was not educated would be just as likely to disgrace her family as would an untutored boy. She would also be shut off from the new avenues opening to women in the schools, universities, professions, philanthropic work, or local and central administration. Significant of the

¹ This Company was launched in 1872 by the National Union for the Improvement of the Education of Women of all Classes, a Union which had set before it the general aim of promoting 'the foundation of cheap day schools for girls and [of raising] the status of women teachers by giving them a liberal education and a good training in the art of teaching'. (*Spens Report*, p. 45.)

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age was the appointment for the first time of a woman to a post of importance in the Civil Service. In 1872, Mrs. Nassau Senior (daughter-in-law of the economist) became a poor law inspector. Masculine monopoly in all these fields was at last challenged and an early marriage ceased to be the only successful career for girls.

The new respect for education born, for many reasons, during the nineteenth century did not stop, however, at its influence on schools both for boys and girls, great as that influence was. New life came also to the universities, particularly when preparation for the examinations for higher posts in the Civil Service and for entrance to many professions became a virtual monopoly of university teaching. As late as 1870 not only did Oxford and Cambridge still remain closed to half the nation by religious tests,¹ but domination of the university by the component colleges, and the persistence in them of absenteeism and sinecureism, rendered them inadequate for the demands of the new age. When reform in these directions was finally achieved by legislation over the years 1871-82, there still remained in the two ancient universities a great lack of provision for professional training. Centuries before, these two institutions had been very largely responsible for whatever training and testing were required for those who intended to enter one of the professions — in those days to no more than the Church, the law, or medicine. By the nineteenth century, however, the universities had allowed those functions to elude them, and in 1852 the Royal Commission on the Universities particularly deplored the poor facilities for professional training within their halls. At a mature stage in the Industrial Revolution, when the demand for experts was urgent in every walk of life, and when the individual professions were awakening to the need for setting and testing professional standards,² the ancient universities were still

¹ *vide supra*, p. 40, where this exclusiveness was cited as part of England's general educational decadence at the start of the century.

² *vide supra*, pp. 33-35.

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unfitted to take their full share of responsibility for supplying these needs.

'Progress was slow in the older universities; the medical schools were the first to show signs of life . . . It was not until 1875 that a chair in Mechanism and Applied Mechanics or, in other words, of engineering, was founded at Cambridge; the Oxford chair of Engineering Science was founded in 1907 . . . The Cambridge Teachers Training Syndicate came into being in 1879, the Oxford Department for the Training of Teachers in 1919.'¹ But if the ancient universities introduced modern schools of professional training only very reluctantly, modern universities were founded more for this purpose than any other. 'Medical schools arose in the first half of the century; colleges of science, including chemistry and engineering, grew up in the second half; amalgamation took place, departments of dentistry and architecture were added — before or after incorporation as a university, which is the final step.'² That is the common history of most of the modern universities. Two such universities — London and Durham — were founded in the Thirties, although London, apart from the teaching organization of two colleges, was then little more than an examining and degree-giving board, while Durham remained small. But as demands for higher education became urgent, University Extension, spreading from Cambridge in 1873, finally led to the formation of new universities in great industrial centres: Victoria University (Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds) 1884, the University of Wales 1893, Birmingham University 1900. Here the doors were always open to all classes and all religions.

Just as during the second half of the nineteenth century, and

¹ CARR-SAUNDERS and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 315. The authors add a note, 'It is not easy to give a date for the beginning of professional study in any one subject. The foundation of a chair is no proof that professional study then began. Thus the Regius Professorship of Physic at Cambridge was founded in 1540, the Regius Professorship in Medicine at Oxford in 1546, the Professorship of Chemistry at Cambridge in 1702 and at Oxford in 1708. On the other hand a department of professional training may grow up before a chair is founded'.

² CARR-SAUNDERS and WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

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particularly from the Seventies onwards, everything conspired to leave no shadow of doubt in the minds of business leaders and those who accepted their ethics, that each child brought into the world must be given a prolonged education, so it has been shown that the means to that education in schools and colleges was simultaneously provided. If education was essential, however, it was no less certain to be found expensive by the first generation of parents converted to it. To earlier generations of business men, children, after infancy was passed, were economically an asset — they could work and swell the family income. For the generation of the Seventies, however, the asset had turned into a liability of formidable proportions.

B. Effect on the Birth-rate

It is important at this point to grasp the deep significance of this balance-sheet attitude towards family, as towards other, matters. The prominence and pervasiveness of that attitude is perhaps the most signal characteristic of modern life. Here were men of wealth and responsibility, accustomed in their business dealings to applying the touchstone of utility to every undertaking, used to considering the likely profit from investments, weighing cost and depreciation against possible dividends. Virtually Benthamite principles had been applied, however unselfconsciously, by rising men in England for many decades. The leaders of the Seventies came to their task as heirs of a long tradition rooted in that all embracing form of rationalism which tended to conceive of everything in terms of matter-of-fact profit and loss. They were nurtured in that way of thought. Evangelicalism was the religion of men who made it their basic assumption for conduct. The creed of J. S. Mill converted political sovereignty from the glamorous plaything of princes and lords, which it had formerly seemed to be, into a prosy branch of blue-book utilitarianism. Art, a thing of adornment

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and little practical use, reached its nadir in England and sank to the level of railway stations. The attitude of 'enlightened self-interest', to which the Victorians owed their unparalleled advance in material civilization, had proved to their satisfaction its validity for every department of thought and action. How could this mentality, triumphant in business, fail to extend its victories to other spheres? Education and the family became two of them.

The mark of balance-sheet methods upon education had already become apparent earlier in the century. 'Just as philanthropic enterprise in the early years of the eighteenth century had reflected the business methods of the period, so the movements which commenced a hundred years later are impressed with the spirit of the Industrial Revolution. There can be little doubt that the forms of child-labour and labour-saving machinery which appear in Lancaster's 'plan'¹ and the monitorial system played an important part in recommending education to public patronage. The imagination is haunted by the prospect of a 'clear easy practical system', carried out with a maximum reduction of labour and expense and bringing speedy and calculable returns. The language of philanthropy combines with disinterested benevolence the hardened optimism of a commercial prospectus. The movement commenced with the strife of rival leaders, Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Andrew Bell; and it accorded well with the spirit of the age that the matter should be left in the hands of two great competing associations . . .'² Later, in 1862, the Newcastle Commission which had sat from 1858 'to inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people', reported, to a House of Commons dominated by the new philosophy, that in spite of the money that Parliament was

¹ See below, p. 67.

² A. E. DOBBS, *Education and Social Movements 1700-1850* (1919), pp. 149-50.

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paying to these schools — £30,000 a year since 1839 — children were being badly taught and results were correspondingly poor. The pupils never mastered reading, writing and arithmetic. In Parliament this caused an uproar, and from the ensuing battle there emerged a system of 'payment by results'. Thus, 'the new arrangements allowed one grant only, paid to the managers and not exceeding twelve shillings a year for each child. Four shillings were to be paid on the average attendance, and the other eight shillings on the results of an annual examination in reading, writing and arithmetic; one-third of it being withheld for each subject in which a child failed'.¹

The educationists who supported the scheme saw in it a means of facilitating the task of administration, which had grown cumbersome through excessive centralization in Whitehall.² For before 1862 grants were made not to schools but to individuals; the army of schoolmasters and pupil-teachers making direct personal claims upon the State was growing. An accumulation of evidence remains, however, to show that the scheme appealed to Parliament for quite other reasons than to educationists. Members 'saw in his [Lord Lingen's] proposals the means to satisfy their demands for some such annual stock-taking as their business experience and habits of thought could appreciate'. In this way 'the blind demand of mid-Victorian parliamentary thought for a visible demonstration of value received for money expended'³ played a substantial part in the inauguration of a scheme bearing all the stamps of commercialism.⁴

How, then, should we expect these same gentlemen to regard domestic expenditure, of which children form an important part? Children could hardly be regarded as profitable investments from any point of view. Their cost, particularly with the

¹ HELEN WODEHOUSE, *A Survey of the History of Education* (1930), p. 184.

² See LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 10.

⁴ It lasted until 1900, when the introduction of a system of block grants brought it to an end.

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new educational demands in view, was excessive. A career at Eton even in those days cost as much as £200 a year, while £70 at least had to be found by parents of the 'poor' boys accepted on the foundation. Moreover, it must be remembered that if these charges, high as they appear, were yet lower than what is required to-day,¹ incomes also were lower. At Cambridge² the annual college expenses of a normal student, i.e. a 'pensioner', would amount without special remissions or assistance to close on £86, while the total cost of the year with food, beer, entertaining and private tuition would reach something like £150. Not infrequently, however, costs would greatly exceed this figure; for £300, it is stated, was the average annual cost of a pensioner at Trinity. At Oxford, the expenses of most students were perhaps slightly lower. Some £61 has been given³ as a fair estimate of the average fixed charges paid each year by undergraduates in a college.⁴ Charges from the kitchen and buttery had then to be added as well as all personal expenses.

The return which might be expected on all this outlay, however, was most uncertain. What investment could be more

¹ See chap. iii.

² According to the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Oxford and Cambridge Universities Education Bill, 1867. (*Parliamentary Papers* 1867, XIII.)

³ *ibid.* Report of the Sub-Committee to consider the expediency of allowing undergraduates to reside in lodgings, Appendix No. 2, III. In the minutes of evidence of another sub-committee, Appendix No. 2, I (to consider extending the University by founding a college or hall at Oxford), it was emphasized that there were many at that time, 'to whom the great impediment in the way of an University Education is simply that of its expensiveness'.

⁴ They were itemized as:

	£	s.	d.
Tuition	21	0	0
Room Rent	12	12	0
Establishment Charges	10	0	0
Colleges dues	8	0	0
Servants	4	10	0
Gratuities to servants	3	0	0
Poors' rate	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£61	2	0

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unsatisfactory than one not transferable, likely to depreciate in value, and of a maturity much delayed? These are precisely the risks a prudent investor must guard against. Is it not possible that the same reasoning may be applied in some measure to investment in the shape of a large family? But then, if it had been, would parents have found themselves in a position to follow out the logic of their argument, i.e. to curtail the size of their families? Such curtailment could be effected by some form of contraception. Many of these had been known for some time. 'Obscure references to practices of a more or less magical character are known in the oldest civilizations. In the Middle Ages an Arabic manual of the sixteenth century described chemical methods. At the same period Gabriello Fallopius, an Italian anatomist . . . gave an account of various types of sheaths made from fine linen, lamb's gut, etc. (the sheath was advertised in England in 1873) . . . In the seventeenth century the subject began to achieve publicity in England and America. The earliest documents of importance in English appear to be the Diabolical Handbills (1823), usually attributed to Francis Place . . . They were followed in 1825 by Richard Carlile's *Every Woman's Book*.¹ Most important of all perhaps in view of its later notoriety,² was Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* which came from the pen of an American writer in 1832, but was first published in England in 1834. Throughout most of the century, however, and certainly until the Seventies, active interest in the subject remained confined almost entirely to radical circles among the skilled artisans and lower middle classes of London. Degraded conditions of life and ignorance among the rest of the working class, and moral prejudices or taboos among the higher classes, militated against any general discussion, much less practice, of birth-control whether by the more 'natural' methods of coitus-interruptus or abortion, or by the use of chemicals and appliances. Furthermore, while the

¹ ENID CHARLES, *Twilight of Parenthood* (1934), p. 174.

² See below, pp. 57-58.

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prevailing temper of the country was firmly based on a faith in progress, while masters and men were buoyant in their expectation of greater and greater prosperity, there was little incentive to embrace practices which would imply radical changes in certain ways of life. In other words, while the general experience in an expanding economy was a constant demand for additional labour and a steadily rising standard of life, anticipated losses from such a risky form of investment as that in a family were likely to be more than offset both by the rising family income and by the easy openings in which the child could turn its equipment to financial advantage.

During the Seventies, however, it was quite a different story. Both sides of the balance-sheet tended to need revision — the sums to be invested as a cost in education upwards, the chances of returns downwards. It has already been shown how reasons accumulated, just about this time, which rendered it impossible for forward-looking parents to deny that the training most of them had been giving their children required a radical overhaul. A new spirit in regard to education pervaded this generation and individuals could ignore it only at their cost. Expenses of education with other influences began to play upon men's minds inducing them to explore some way of escaping from the trammels of a large family. Probably for that reason, therefore, the circulation of *Fruits of Philosophy* (at the price of 6d.) which had hitherto been very small in England began to expand quite noticeably.¹ It consequently attracted the notice of authorities, and the publishers were prosecuted. A publisher in Bristol and another in London had thus been induced to withdraw the book, when Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant took up its publication with intent to make a test case of it. They challenged the authorities to prosecution by sending them a formal notice of the new publication. The challenge was accepted and a trial fixed for the Central Criminal Court.

¹ A fact given by Mrs. Besant in her trial with Charles Bradlaugh in 1877 (see below).

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Bradlaugh, however, having appealed for its hearing at the Queen's Bench Division, six weeks elapsed before it was opened on June 18th, 1877.¹ Before hearings started, therefore, the case had attracted considerable attention, so that in this interval of six weeks, some 120,000 copies of the book were said² to have been sold, in contrast to a total sale of no more than 42,000 or so during the forty-two years it had been on sale in this country.

The trial itself gave the book and the whole subject of controlling births a great popular advertisement. Sensational litigation always found space in the newspapers of the day, and this celebrated trial was fully paraded in all its shocking detail.³ The trial had a decisive effect in pointing a definite path of action to unfulfilled and often vaguely formulated urges. For many it pointed to a way of escape by contraception. Subsequently, sales of tracts and books on contraceptive methods leapt into hundreds of thousands. In the three and a half years following the trial a probable minimum of 235,000 copies of *Fruits of Philosophy* were sold and the figures of these sales are often considered to be nearer 285,000. Furthermore, since this particular book had by then been written almost half a century before, other books on the subject were soon attracted into the market. A book by Mrs. Besant, herself, *The Law of Population*, soon sold some 175,000 copies and *The Wife's Handbook* by Allbutt ultimately reached the half-million mark.

It was not, however, solely, nor perhaps primarily, for the advertisement it gave to techniques of contraception that the trial was most important. The publicity given to birth-control and

¹ *Regina v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant*, Law Reports 2, Queen's Bench Division 569, June 18-22, 1877. Reviewed by Queen's Bench Division 607.

² By Mrs. Besant at the trial.

³ For five days (June 18-22) its details filled column after column in the sober pages of *The Times*. During the mid-Seventies, three other 'birth-control' trials were held (Henry Cook, Charles Watts, Edward Truelove), but none of the others achieved the same notoriety as the Bradlaugh-Besant trial.

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the intimate details necessarily discussed in public at the trials¹ largely succeeded in breaking down the still prevailing attitude not only towards the controlling and checking of births but towards sexual relations altogether as subjects too obscene for frank and reasonable discussion. Mr. Glass is emphatic upon this subject. 'It is not very probable, even at the present time, that modern methods of contraception are used by the bulk of the population, and it is highly unlikely that the Bradlaugh-Besant trial was followed by any considerable increase in the use of contraceptives. What is far more likely is that the Bradlaugh-Besant trial acted as a crystallizer of public opinion, and made clear the personal disadvantages of large families. Such changes in *mores* would increase the use of the methods of birth-prevention which were already well known, that is, especially of abortion. The references given by Dr. Ethel Elderton in her monumental work² clearly point to a wide popular knowledge of many crude and harmful, but nevertheless effective, methods of abortion with which to supplement the practice of coitus-interruptus.'³

In all likelihood, it needed no advertisement even in the form of a famous trial to make the personal disadvantages of large families clear; but what was necessary, and what these trials undoubtedly achieved by a critical analysis of the subject devoid of all sentimentality, was a general acceptance of the relative respectability of family limitation. They focused public attention on those means of limitation which were already traditional, and encouraged their use. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's openly sympathetic attitude in the Bradlaugh trial,

¹ The Solicitor General read in court an entire chapter on 'Of Promoting and Checking Conception' and then explained to the jury how great had been his reluctance in doing this. In replying, Mrs. Besant passed to the jury some passages from *Tristram Shandy* which she considered actually coarse and not merely scientifically descriptive like the *Fruits of Philosophy*.

² 'Report on the English Birth-rate', Part I, England North of the Humber (*Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs*, XIX and XX, 1914).

³ *Political Arithmetic* (1938), chap. vi, by D. V. GLASS, Marriage Frequency and Economic Fluctuations in England and Wales, 1851 to 1934, p. 279.

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when he found the defendants guilty but with no blame attaching to them, was not lost upon the public mind. He deplored in court the 'ill-advised and injudicious' proceedings. The lesson was rubbed home when in the following year the Court of Appeals found technical grounds for reversing the verdict. Whether the means to family limitation were mechanical or traditional, that limitation was undoubtedly practised very widely during the last quarter of the century. To the upper and middle classes, no longer able to shirk the responsibility of providing a reputable education for every child, whether boy or girl, and of paying highly for the privilege, the relevance of the trial appeared immediate. The expense of properly educating twelve or thirteen children seemed with good reason more than many finances could bear, and families must have been glad enough to avail themselves of the opportunity of limiting their liability to five or six children. Elsewhere the attitude to children as the unprofitable investments they were, no doubt supplied a potent enough argument for limiting families. A new fashion was coming in. In particular, the popularization of costly boarding school education must have exacted a large toll upon the birth-rate of our higher classes.

Meanwhile, the Seventies were years of challenge and crisis for the landed proprietors. Between 1875 and 1879, agriculture suffered a succession of bad harvests, while prices, instead of being stimulated by scarcity, fell ruinously under the flood of American exports. In addition, the world monetary crisis dragged the prices of meat and dairy produce on the same downward course. There settled upon British agriculture a depression from which it has never recovered. Collapse of rural rents and land values in the Seventies began an economic dethronement of the landowners. Another ten years saw the final consummation. Income depending on ownership of broad acres gradually contracted and estates passed into the hands of commercial wealth which thereby achieved a coveted social distinction. In the face of much opposition, the old values of an

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aristocracy went into general retreat before the commercial, especially when a second blow to agriculture was struck by a further collapse of prices in 1893.

Evidently the repercussions of this reversal of the relative importance of industrial and landed wealth were numerous. The tide of events which by the Seventies had revolutionized the attitude to education in the middle ranks of society, were not without their significance in the upper ranks. Education above a standard of mere literacy had long remained a prerogative of the gentry. Great as it was, however, it had not always been given to all the sons of the family, and certainly not to its daughters. Sinecurism had often rendered superfluous more than a superficial education for the younger sons while a home governess usually provided all the accomplishments a girl would need. But gradually, patronage and sinecurism had been swept away from the parliamentary and municipal systems, from schools and universities, and from the Civil Service. Under Gladstone's reforms, unless the new men were to be allowed to move in and occupy all the seats of power, the old families no less than their new rivals had to consider educating all their children in the schools and universities now transformed by the new spirit of urgency. Moreover, responsible positions in the Civil Service, in the professions or in the reorganized army were soon to be sought not merely for the prestige and status they conferred, but equally for the incomes they yielded. As the land grew poorer many of those traditionally associated with it were forced to look elsewhere for sources of income. Within their ranks as well as outside, education now became no less than a bare necessity.

At first, while wealth still flowed on the land and old traditions were still enthroned, these new demands of education can have had little effect on the number of children born in these families. But when agriculture collapsed, landowners found themselves confronted by new alternatives. Education had by then established itself and the only acceptable economy was a

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limitation of the number of children for whom education must be provided. The second half of the century therefore, particularly from the Seventies onwards, found the lists growing shorter in the bibles of both upper- and upper-middle-class families. Thus, in his analysis of completed families at the 1911 census,¹ Stevenson found that to every hundred of such couples married between 1851 and 1861, 625 children were born on the average. The quota dropped to 593 for those married ten years later, as low as 497 for marriages in the decade 1871 to 1881, and 422 for marriages between 1881 and 1886. Family limitation had evidently been widely adopted,² and whatever other influences played a part in this revolution in social habit among the aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie, the unprecedented onus of paying for a substantial education for all children must be assigned a heavy rôle. Much of the decline in upper-middle-class birth-rates indeed could be traced to the professional class, grown numerically important and quite a distinctive group in society by the end of the century.

The new order in Britain ushered in by the Industrial Revolution had among other things created the need for manifold new skills in society. Mechanical arts in particular expanded in response to the demands of a scientific age. Later, when large-scale commercialism and finance came largely to dominate the stage of business life, new vocations arose to fill

¹ *Census for England and Wales, 1911*, vol. 13. Fertility of Marriage. See also a paper read by Stevenson before the Royal Statistical Society, April 20th, 1920, The Fertility of Various Social Classes in England and Wales from the Middle of the Nineteenth Century to 1911.

² It is important to notice, however, that the decline was undoubtedly less than these figures indicate. Evidence seems to show that high fertility and duration of life are closely correlated, so that couples married as early as 1851-61 and surviving as long as 1911 would represent a group especially characterized by unusually high fertility. The preponderance of such couples among the group married during 1861-71 and still surviving in 1911 would be rather less, and would get continually less for the youngest groups of all when considered in 1911. In other words, the census figures by considering only survivors from marriages at certain periods, inevitably made artificially high estimates of fertility for the earliest periods. (See R. R. Kuczynski, *The Measurement of Population Growth* (1935), chap. iii, and especially p. 96.)

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the principal rôles.¹ From the middle of the century onwards, it has already been said,² a wave encompassing these vocations swept them on one by one towards the formation of associations among those practising the same skill. A new spirit was abroad insisting upon high standards of competence, and hitherto loosely knit vocations gradually tightened up their practices by bonds of formal organization as they realized that only by such a policy could they be assured of an honourable place with the ancient professions. Henceforward professionalism in any form meant high standards of efficiency and therefore of education also. This rise in professional standards, then, was not unaccompanied by a change in the cost of professional training.

That cost increased greatly, primarily because examinations required fairly definite periods of preparation, periods which were in general very much longer than had formerly been the usual practice. If these high costs both of schooling and later training discouraged many a wealthy industrialist from undertaking the responsibility for large families, how much more of a hindrance must they have proved for the many families who, although less well off, were yet tempted to strive after a place for their offspring in this expanding professional world, with all the prestige that status would imply! Here were people conceiving high ideals of educational achievement, yet often with very limited financial resources. For the period of school days they aimed at that costly form of boarding school education to which the leading classes of Britain had given a blessing and consequently a new lease of life. Their commitments would seldom stop there, however. More often they would have to embrace a university career and perhaps after that a special professional training. Evidently, on the moderate incomes possessed by many new-comers to the professional world, such outlay could not be met for more than one or two children. Many members of the professional and semi-professional world, therefore, were soon limiting their families beyond any other

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 26-28.

² *vide supra*, p. 35.

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group. The increase in the number of professionals towards the end of the century, therefore, was not without its repercussion upon the state of England's birth-rate,¹ even if they represented only a small proportion of the total population.

§ 4 THE STATE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

A. Creation

England had thus ensured the education of her leaders. By 1870, however, it was further realized that the nation could ill-afford to delay any longer at least the beginnings of an elementary education for all. Alarm was spreading 'at the prospect of political democracy growing to full stature without having become an educated democracy'.² After the extension of the franchise to urban workers in 1867, Lowe was not alone in exclaiming, 'we must educate our masters'. Not that there were until then no schools for work people. The eighteenth century had already witnessed a large measure of activity in this direction, 'largely as a missionary enterprise for the uplifting of a neglected class'.³ Sunday was therefore the chosen day of

¹ Figures for this increase are not easy to secure. BOWLEY, *Wages and Income in The United Kingdom* (1937), Appendix E, gives figures for the professional and administrative classes combined, at the various censuses. They are, for England and Wales:

	1881	1891	1901	1911
<i>Males: Total</i>	248,000	289,000	343,000	408,000
Per 1000 of all occupied	32.0	32.8	33.8	35.6
<i>Females: Total</i>	150,000	191,000	236,000	271,000
Per 1000 of all occupied	44.1	48.4	56.6	56.1

It is also possible to give the statistics of membership of the various professional associations. (See Table A.) It must be noticed, however, that those figures do not always give the total numbers practising any profession. The medical register, for example, includes the names of many retired doctors. Despite this, however, the change in the number of medical men in relation to the population can be taken as indicative of the growth of the profession as last century closed.

² Sir Michael E. Sadler, letter to *The Times Educational Supplement*, Dec. 10, 1938.

³ DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

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instruction, partly because the zeal of the movement was concentrated upon teaching adults as well as children to read the Bible, partly because this was the only time during the week when an industrial population was free for attending school.

From such a modest beginning was a national system of day schools to spring, but that was not yet. Neither the workers in this movement nor those who followed them in founding primary schools for full-time attendance were in fact inspired by ideals of carrying the education of these classes very far. On the contrary, the prevalent sentiment of philanthropists interested in some instruction for the poor was one of fear in case their charges should learn too much. 'The criticisms which appeared at the commencement of the nineteenth century are governed by the . . . traditional preconception, that education is normally a means of rising in the social scale and that any widely organized instruction of the people would incapacitate them for necessary labour and diffuse an atmosphere of social unrest.'¹ Such an attitude lingered, and was still strongly entrenched well into the second half of the nineteenth century. 'In spite of its growing humanitarianism, the English middle class were uneasy as to the ultimate effects of giving the strong stimulus of an invigorating education to the minds and ambitions of the mass of working people in town and country. Many were instinctively jealous, on their own account, but still more on behalf of their children, of future rivals springing from below with formidable equipment which would be given

¹ DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 148. 'A vast number of those who had been brought up at Sunday schools were wandering from their proper callings, had become fanatical teachers, had deemed themselves qualified to hold disputations on religious topics, had turned sceptics, infidels and anarchists, and were spreading a malignant influence throughout the mass of the community.' Quoted by Dobbs from *Anti-Jacobin*, October 1800. He also quotes as 'a fair representation of moderate conservative opinion', 'It is doubtless desirable that the poor should be generally instructed in reading, if it were only for the best of purposes - that they may read the Scriptures. As to writing and arithmetic, it may be apprehended that such a degree of knowledge would produce in them a disrelish for the laborious occupations of life'. - Remarks on the Poor Bill . . . by one of H.M.'s Justices of the Peace in the County of Lincoln, 1807.

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to them by a prolonged education, largely at public expense.¹

In addition, there were other seemingly intractable obstacles to general acceptance of universal education as a State policy. Most important among these was the problem of control; for religious and sectarian interests each made their own usually conflicting claims, while administrators shirked cutting this dangerous knot. Similarly, the authorities were reluctant to face the consequences, both in Parliament and in the country at large, of imposing extra strains on the public purse, in order to spread abroad the doubtful leaven of a new education. The idea of universal education had probably taken firm roots early in the second half of the century, but it needed the convulsion of some external stimulus before the idea could be expressed in action.

Gradually it was being acknowledged that whereas in the past it had not been important for the working class to be literate, the requirements of industry by this time demanded that even the mass of workers should acquire at least the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. But only when the contrast between our own backwardness in this respect and the progress made by industrial competitors was forced upon our leaders, could they be fully convinced of the new needs. 'On the speedy provision of elementary education', the Commons was warned in 1870,² 'depends our industrial prosperity, the safe working of our constitutional system, and our national power.' England was beginning to know the reality of industrial competition, especially from the United States and Germany, where general education was already much superior to anything England could boast. Some of the German States had early started enforcing attendance at school; Württemberg in 1559, Brunswick 1569, Saxony 1580, Weimar at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had been impelled as much by the desire of establishing the corporate life of the State on a firm foundation

¹ SIR MICHAEL SADLER, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

² By Forster introducing his Education Act.

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as by religious motives. Massachusetts followed the same course in 1642-47. In England, as late as the nineteenth century, the State seemed oblivious to any responsibilities in the matter of education. The first signs of awakening, moreover, were not only extremely tentative; they did not even carry enforcement. Under Peel's Factory Act of 1802, 'the employer was required to provide adequate instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic during the first four years at least of the seven years of apprenticeship'.¹ The Factory Act of 1833 assumed the principle of compulsory education by 'requiring' young persons under eighteen in textile factories to attend school for two hours each day. Unfortunately, however, the schools seldom existed.

Perhaps it was for this reason that the State made in that same year its first grant towards education. Until then voluntary societies, particularly the British and Foreign School Society² and the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church,³ directed the only education provided for the lower classes, and that was all too inadequate.⁴ In 1833 Parliament voted £20,000 for the erection of school houses, these two educational societies being entrusted with its use. In 1839 the grant was increased to £30,000. For another thirty years these societies bore the brunt of this task of educating England's poor. They not only went far in overriding the opposition for so long raised against any secular education; they also laid the foundation of our elementary education. Nevertheless, as late as 1870, only about half the children of the country were educated at all,⁵ and most

¹ The Education of the Adolescent, being the Report of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education, 1926. Normally called the *Hadow Report*, after the name of its Chairman.

² Founded in 1808, it adopted the monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster.

³ Founded in 1811, it took Dr. Andrew Bell's monitorial system.

⁴ *vide supra*, pp. 53-54.

⁵ Many of the elementary schools were monopolized by a relatively respectable class of children. 'Successive groups of philanthropists were continually rediscovering a submerged class for whom nothing was done, and whose condition grew more ominous and lamentable in proportion to the general progress of manners and intelligence.' (DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 152.)

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of these very indifferently. The State could no longer afford to confine itself to making an annual grant to voluntary societies. Listening to the warnings of its economists, 'it is seen that an uneducated people is handicapped in the industrial competition with educated nations',¹ Parliament could not go on ignoring the fact that the education of the people vitally concerned the State. Happily also, those jealous fears which had for long operated against the extension to all of at least an elementary education, had by the Seventies been finally dispelled. Other forces, it has been shown, were now at work to render a higher education indispensable for the children of the middle and upper classes. They could contemplate without any fear of competition a working class possessed of the rudiments of education. By the Act of 1870, therefore, the State for the first time shouldered the burden of elementary education. Improvement in school standards was naturally not the product of a moment, and compulsory education was not enforced until six years later, but by the end of the century illiteracy had been practically banished from the cottages of Britain.

In the meantime, however, a new urgency had arisen. It has been mentioned that the family or one-man firm was giving place, especially after the Companies Act of 1862, to corporate enterprises, and by the end of the century this movement was becoming rapid. In addition, from the late Eighties onwards, the formation of monopolistic trusts and combines made much headway, in spite of the obstacles offered by England's policy of free economic competition. Encouraged by the protection of tariffs the movement was much more prominent in the United States and Germany; but even in this country from 1888 onwards combinations of as many as fifty small firms promoted a growing tendency towards large-scale undertakings. Following these developments, Civil Service methods were invading every precinct of business — banking, trading, and manufacturing.

¹ JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, *An Economic Interpretation of History* (1891), p. 495.

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'The profession of accountancy acquired a totally new importance; and the invention of the typewriter (adopted by English business in the Nineties after patenting in America in 1867) was one of many mechanical devices helping in the same general direction.'¹ At an early date it had been acknowledged that such a radical transformation of business methods required a new and educated man at the head of affairs. The realization dawned only much later that it demanded no less a system of education adapted to train up a new army of clerical workers. The Board Schools set up under the 1870 Act were providing the elements of literacy; but something more was required for even humble members of the new bureaucracy.

Much earlier in the century the demand for clerks had been vocal. Not only the expansion of overseas trade and of internal business, but also the development of governmental and public enterprise at home² had created the need for boys who could undertake routine clerking work for which some sort of post-primary, but not necessarily advanced, education was necessary. Some of these gaps were filled by recruits from the grammar schools, but the majority of these latter were totally unsuitable for boys destined for commerce and manufacture. In 1837 Thomas Wyse gave voice to current dissatisfaction with these schools from the point of view of the middle class. In the grammar schools, 'the middle class in all its sections, except the more learned professions, find no instruction which can suit its special middle-class wants. They are fed with the dry husks of ancient learning when they should be taking sound and substantial food from the great treasury of modern discovery'.³ Despite the revolution later effected in these schools by the successful intervention of the Endowed Schools Commission (1869-74) and their successors, the Charity Commissioners (1874-1902), the classical curriculum still largely dominated these

¹ ENSOR, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

² *vide supra*, p. 28.

³ From an article entitled *Education Reform*.

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schools. The function they performed in ministering to growing business needs was therefore limited. Even worse, it soon became obvious that the numbers so schooled were pitifully inadequate. In particular the most populous areas of all often lacked grammar schools altogether or at best had only very few.

Certain other efforts were therefore made to meet these needs. Among such the first were those of the British and National Societies which began to open Middle Schools where an elementary education could be carried further at only moderate cost.¹ Later, following Manchester's lead, 'commercial' academics were opened here and there throughout the country,² while later still establishments of an explicitly vocational character began to appear, where preparation for a business career was put first. Pitman's Commercial College was established in 1870 and Clark's in 1880. Correspondence colleges sprang up during and after the Eighties.

Private venture, however, was patently unable to go anything like far enough in providing the army of clerical workers rapidly becoming indispensable for the smooth working of a business machine grown immensely complex. The gravity of the situation and the demand for State responsibility in secondary education could not but be acknowledged; but State intervention was still held back. As early as 1868, the Schools Inquiry Commission had made far-reaching recommendations for secondary schools to be administered by the State,³ but beyond making an impression upon public opinion of the time nothing more revolutionary was effected than the passing of the Endowed Schools Act. Those jealous fears which for so long opposed the introduction of a universal primary education,⁴ operated until the century drew to a close against a governmental policy of secondary education.

¹ See *Hadow Report, op. cit.*, p. 26, and the *Spens Report, op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 6.

² In 1846 the Manchester Church Education Society opened the first of four 'commercial' schools.

³ See *Spens Report*, pp. 30-5.

⁴ *vide supra*, p. 65.

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Although, then, secondary education was not officially undertaken by the State until 1902, the elementary system which it had already taken under its wing was unofficially extending its activities to include something of post-primary work. The School Boards set up in 1870 soon found themselves practically forced to accommodate children who had already completed the elementary course. The Education Department gradually added to the list of subjects upon which grants would be paid, and in 1882, after the number of children staying at school up to and beyond the age of thirteen had steadily increased, they added a seventh standard to provide for them. Even then, it soon appeared that many parents were asking for still more; ex-seven standards formed themselves. Thereafter the natural step was to separate these higher standards into special 'Higher Grade Schools' where, for the most part, the first year children were counted as seventh standard for earning grants from the Education Department, while the remainder — the complete course in these schools usually covered three years — qualified for grants upon examination by the Science and Art Department of South Kensington. Before long, competition for entrance to these schools became keen.

The minimum of education secured for the masses in 1870 had nourished in their breasts a desire for more. Indeed by 1882, it was clear to the Commissioners on Technical Education¹ that the time was ripe for a bold step in recognizing the training given in Higher Grade Schools as secondary in every sense of the word. It was clear that they should be reorganized as such and increased in number until there were enough to form a satisfactory basis for sound technical education. Here was another reason why the organization of secondary instruction should start in earnest — a Royal Commission was urging it as the best preparation for later technical training. But neither this argument nor the clamour for clerks prevailed. The State remained silent upon the subject, still content to leave in

¹ Who reported in 1882-84.

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private hands the responsibility for opening day secondary schools. Many such schools were indeed opened, particularly in the last ten years of the century;¹ but when all secondary schools, old and new, were counted, inadequacies in the provision of secondary education in this country remained flagrant. Thus, the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education had to report in 1895 that, in the Manchester areas, 'out of a population of five or six millions, some twelve hundred boys are enjoying an efficient secondary education. If that were a district in Germany there would be at least one good school for every hundred thousand inhabitants'.² Similarly, although the fifteen new secondary schools under the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889 and the seventeen secondary schools set up in England by the county and county borough councils were a success, they were unable to supply more than the merest fraction of the clerks everywhere in demand.

By 1902, therefore, business men were regretting that city offices were forced to employ so many thousands of well-grounded and industrious German clerks for want of a home-grown substitute;³ and the Board of Education mentioned this sad state in its report for 1904.⁴ Here indeed was the rub. Not only was this country failing to supply her own clerks, but that deficit was being made good largely by Germany, the very country which, with the United States, was now recognized as our most dangerous competitor. In fact, it has already been said, a major reason why, from about 1870, these countries began to steal our markets was their superior training among men as well as masters. Germany was considered educationally to be sixty years ahead of us.

At a late hour England had learned from foreigners that an

¹ E. L. CLARKE, *Sociological Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

² LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ *ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ p. 45. The Board of Education was set up by an Act of 1899. It merged the powers of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the Charity Commission.

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industrial nation could not tolerate general illiteracy. Once again, as the century drew to a close, foreigners had to teach her that a mature commercialism needed a more advanced education in order to provide satisfactory brain-workers. English higher education for the upper strata of society might by then have borne comparison with that in Germany or the United States; but for the mass of her people it was virtually non-existent. Furthermore, the position of the Higher Grade Schools which, when fully developed, virtually supplied a secondary education,¹ was seriously challenged by the Cockerton Judgment in 1901 before the Court of the Queen's Bench.² The London School Board, it was discovered, had spent rates illegally in providing this higher education. This decision meant that enterprising School Boards were stopped from providing anything more than elementary education; it was evident that a new Education Bill was required permanently to regularize the situation. At last, in the Education Act of 1902, legislation to provide national secondary schools was passed. Among its various clauses was included one permitting secondary education to be a charge of twopence on local rates. Its inclusion did much to ensure the successful passage of a controversial Act. During the debates on the Bill, voices from all parties were raised to emphasize the national urgency attaching to increased secondary education — notably from Haldane, a leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, from Asquith, the Liberal, and from the Radical, Charles Trevelyan. Parliament truly reflected the concern for educational reform which was by this time widespread throughout the nation. In 1902, then,

¹ The Royal Commission on Secondary Education (Bryce Commission) 1895 'recommended that such schools should be treated as secondary schools, placed under the jurisdiction of the local authority for secondary education, and co-ordinated with other secondary schools in the district by being brought into a definite and organic relation with other secondary schools and institutions of the districts, so that they should rather co-operate than compete with the latter where they existed, and should be made more available as places of preparation for advanced instruction'. (*Spens Report*, p. 50.)

² *Regina v. Cockerton* (1901), 1 Q.B. 322. The decision was upheld on appeal. *Rex v. Cockerton*, C.A. (1901) 1 K.B. 726.

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the foundations of State secondary education were laid in England; its growth, though not spectacular, was notable. The number of pupils taking a full course in State-aided secondary schools increased from 44,576 (1.3 per 1000 of the population) in 1902-3 to 94,698 (2.8 per 1000 of the population) only two years later, and then almost doubled itself again before the War — it reached 187,207 (5.1 per 1000 of the population) by 1913-14.

With the new Act, the objective of building up a force of white-collar workers, so prominent in the minds of the Act's promoters, has undoubtedly been achieved. Commercial clerks alone increased by 37.5% — from 613 to 843 thousand — in the decade after 1901. Simultaneously, that stratum in society was greatly augmented which was neither lower nor upper, nor belonging to the middle class of new industrialists, although it has tended to join forces with this latter more recently.

Commercial employees who had already appeared before the close of the nineteenth century,¹ had begun to create the phenomenon of a 'suburban' residential class. Soon these districts were to sprawl over vast areas and their populations to leap into thousands as clerical occupations grew.

From the outset, such occupations conferred a social status dignified above that of artisans, even though the latter's skill not infrequently earned them more money. 'The secondary schools seemed more respectable than attendance at the elementary school till fourteen, followed by day or evening classes [to acquire a technical skill].'² Education of a non-practical nature beyond the primary stage had for so long been a privilege of the wealthier classes. Scholarships, it is true, had opened a way for some poorer boys, but they had usually been caught up in the traditions of the families with whom they associated in

¹ BOWLEY's figures, *op. cit.*, Appendix E, give 397,000 men and 52,000 women in commerce in 1881; in 1891, 694,000 men and 89,000 women. Commercial clerks numbered 318,000 in 1881.

² LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

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the higher schools, and entered the professions. It was inevitable, therefore, that the new secondary education should be irrevocably linked to gentility, even where wealth itself was lacking. From the beginning, these new schools accepted the old grammar, and even the 'public' schools as providing the pattern upon which they should model themselves. In addition, the nature of clerical work in itself had always helped to classify the white-collared with leaders rather than masses. The new business bureaucracy had to accept the standards of dress, behaviour, and living hitherto associated with the well-to-do.¹ 'Of Victorian reform as a whole,' it has been said,² 'the aim was the steady diffusion of culture and comfort downwards and outwards in widening circles.' Indisputably, among the clerical classes if not elsewhere, this aim was abundantly realized. Not least were they infected by the attitude to education held by the business man of the period; above all it spelt 'advancement in life' and the attainment of the ambitions they had set themselves for comfort, culture, and success. For the lower middle-class worker in black-coated occupations, however, this implied a standard of life to which with their moderate incomes they could never fully attain. They willingly subjected themselves to a tyranny of genteel standards, and with it to a gratuitous and lifelong need for pecuniary prudence. The suburban dweller 'is proud when he is identifying his interests with those of Kensington, and indignant when his interests are identified with those of Poplar. He possesses in full the progressive desires which are said to be the secret of advance. He wants a little more than he can afford, and is almost always living beyond his income'.³ Nevertheless, however full the balance-sheet of family expenditure, the cost of educating his children in the

¹ JOHN STUART MILL, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848 ed.), I, p. 469, referred to '... the remaining influences of an ancient custom, which required that clerks should maintain the dress and appearance of a more highly paid class'.

² YOUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³ C. F. G. MASTERMAN, *The Condition of England* (1909), p. 74.

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new secondary school could never be crowded out. Without it, the very existence of a suburban and clerical class was jeopardized.

B. Effect on the Birth-rate

At the beginning of the twentieth century there was small chance of a parent's being given any financial assistance towards his child's secondary education. In 1906, for example, 125,678 boys and girls were in grant-aided secondary schools, but, apart from those in places especially reserved for intending teachers,¹ no more than some 12,000 held scholarships from public elementary schools. The general provision of assistance had to wait for the Free Place System in 1907. More liberal regulations came into force in that year,² but even then many years were to pass before any substantial increase was made in the number of free places granted. The great majority of children were a direct financial burden to their parents during secondary education. The latter could help themselves in one way only — by reducing the size of their families. And would not such a policy receive additional sanction because their masters and patterns were pursuing a precisely similar one?

Family limitation can hardly have been a new practice among the clerical classes. At the beginning of last century there had been such a shortage of men fit for this employment in relation to the rising demand, that, according to J. S. Mill, they 'were immensely overpaid, as measured by the ordinary

¹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, 1920, p. 3.*

² Up to 1907, the State defrayed hardly any of the cost of secondary education, the grants payable for each scholar taking an approved course amounting to not more than £2 or £3 according to the scholar's age. In 1907, the grant was raised to £5 on each pupil between the ages of 12 and 18 in secondary schools satisfying certain conditions. Only those secondary schools could now qualify for a grant where a proportion of school places (at least 25% of the total admissions of the previous year) were held as 'free places' for scholars from public elementary schools.

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remuneration of labour'.¹ By about the Sixties, however, the supply, although still far from adequate, was beginning to rise sufficiently to bring the average salary down to a level at which the family found it a pinch to maintain their old style and reputation as gentlefolk. By 1895 Charles Booth was writing:² 'financially, the great mass of clerks are on a level with the great mass of artisans, £75 to £150 a year comparing with 30s., 40s., 50s., and 60s., a week'. Well before the twentieth century, therefore, the superior style of the clerk could only be preserved by dint of reducing his family circle.

But an even more powerful force in the same direction was yet to appear. When secondary education became generally available, even that remnant of scarcity-value which a section of the lower middle class had so far retained, was finally dispersed. Simultaneously, the minimum standard of competence required of clerks could safely be raised: employers had no longer to put up with anything they could get. Thus, many who on the scantiest education had formerly felt secure of finding a niche in the clerical world where they could remain unchallenged, now lost any such confident prospect for their children. What the new secondary schools offered was the minimum they could rely on if the social standing, in which the family took such pride, was not to be lost in the next generation. Again, attracted by the opportunities of 'self-advancement' which the new schools offered, thrifty artisans began increasingly to enter the lists and make sacrifices to buy for their own offspring places in these schools — the open-sesame to white-collared employment. With such new forms of pressure upon them, the older families of the white-collared felt incentives to further outlay per child and consequently to yet fewer children, their wages remaining in general not much above those of superior manual workers. Meanwhile, the competing artisans

¹ *op. cit.*, written in 1848, vol. I, page 469.

² *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Second Series: Industry, vol. III, p. 277.

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were being driven to precisely the same family policy. Such imitation in turn reacted upon the patterns — if the old black-coated families were to retain their prized superiority, then they must now find some yet further way of distinguishing their own sons and daughters from the new-comers to secondary desks. The race to keep the lead became hotter. But how, upon such limited incomes? No doubt they turned an envious eye on the costly boarding school. For the majority, however, any such aspiration could be no more than a flight of fancy. But it might be feasible to contemplate the local endowed grammar school or some other establishment counted superior to a new secondary school erected by the Local Education Authority (L.E.A.). Such transfers of children were undoubtedly made in the early years of this century, but not without further pressure on the birth-rate.

Meanwhile, what of the lower rungs of the social ladder? How did the claims of education affect them? For half a century and more children had been growing increasingly unprofitable to labourers. Under the system of home industries, each additional pair of hands and feet could be used to increase the total family output and to swell the family income. With the spread of factories, however, family earning disappeared as such. 'When the family broke up into independent units, and the boys kept their money to themselves and married when they chose and when the girls were mistresses, too, of their own earnings the loss of the family wage tended to lessen the stability of life.'¹ The return which parents had expected from a child could no longer be relied upon. Later, when Factory Acts² removed children from the sphere of industry and placed restrictions upon the employment of young persons, the economic value of children was further curtailed. It is true that what a child had formerly been able to earn was not a large sum. Youngsters of

¹ KNOWLES, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

² From Peel's Act of 1802 throughout the century culminating in the Consolidating Act of 1878 which followed the recommendations of the Royal Commission 1861-63.

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five or six, for example, could at one time work in mills for as much as 13 hours a day, receiving no more than 5s. at the end of the week. To poor families, however, that money represented a regular return that could be looked forward to if parents could tide over their progeny's early, unproductive years. The Industrial Revolution and social legislation following in its train gradually changed assurance on this score first to uncertainty, and finally to certainty of quite another order — to the clear knowledge that a long period must pass from birth before a child could even earn his own bread and butter, let alone his parents'. Last came the Education Acts, as culmination to these well-established forces. Parliament, it has already been shown, accepted the principle of universal education in 1870, and in 1876 this achievement gained its full significance when compulsory education to the age of 10 years was enforced. These Acts, moreover, not only advanced by an extra year the lowest age at which children could secure full-time employment; but also, through School Boards and School Attendance Committees, they made evasion of the law a much more difficult task.

The sacrifice of earnings, while by far the most heavy hardship, was not the only one imposed on working-class parents by the new education. Money for school fees had also to be provided at first. Such fees often amounted to no more than ten shillings a year for each child; none the less, they were a burden upon many families, and only the very poor could hope for exemption or assistance. Some years later, in 1891, fees below ten shillings were at last abolished, but such relief was offset only two years later by a raising of the school-leaving age to 11 years, and by further advances to 12 years in 1899 and in some areas as far as 14 years in 1900.

Financial incentives for the working man to invest in a large family had thus grown steadily fainter. The years when children meant a burden to a parent's budget gradually ate into what had been the years of financial profit. Compensation for initial expenditure on food, clothes and other necessities for

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keeping a child alive had dwindled so much that the undertaking scarcely seemed profitable. A deep unbalance developed between the period of spending and that of return upon a child. The families of twelve and over often met with among the workers in early and mid-Victorian days, steadily disappeared.¹ While, therefore, historically it was the most depressed sections of the people who first felt the impact of new social developments, taking, especially in the sphere of education, the form of children's earnings foregone, later on a similar reaction could be discerned among the middle classes when they began to venture along fresh paths of educational endeavour. Even to-day, among the majority of families belonging to a generation that has never known child labour, the wages which have to be sacrificed if any training beyond the compulsory minimum is under consideration, still stand out as a primary 'cost' to be reckoned.

With such a transformation in the financial prospects of a large family, then, it is not surprising to find the working man in the latter half of last century contemplating with equanimity a family circle smaller than his father's. Statistics reflect how such families grew smaller from the Sixties onwards.² At the

¹ Correlation coefficients seem to show, however, that the considerable declines (between 1871 and 1911) in the percentages of children aged 10-15 who were occupied will not account for different rates of fall in the birth-rate, during this period, from county to county throughout England. (D. V. GLASS, *Political Arithmetic*, 1938, chap. iv, Changes in Fertility in England and Wales, 1851 to 1931, pp. 209-11.)

² The 1911 census figures may again be quoted if the warning previously given concerning them is again kept in mind (*vide supra*, footnote 2, page 62).

Number of Children Born per 100 Couples where the Wife was 45 or over at the Time of the Census, England and Wales, 1911.

(151, Part 2, p. xcvi, Table 44)

<i>Date of Marriage</i>	<i>Duration of Marriage</i>	<i>Social Class</i>					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1881-86	25-30	556	562	609	513	684	632
1871-81	30-40	615	616	652	567	717	667
1861-71	40-50	679	673	698	633	760	702
1851-61	50-60	707	700	718	654	759	738
1851 or earlier	Over 60	681	740*	698*	†	†	746
1 Skilled artisans	2 Intermediate between 1 and 3	3 Unskilled workers					
4 Textile workers	5 Miners	6 Agricultural workers					

*Rates based on less than 100 couples.

†Less than 10 couples.

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same time, supplementary forces were not lacking which worked in the same direction. In the first place, influences bound up with the spread of urbanization had greatly weakened the inducement to large families. In the second place, the inconvenience both of bearing and rearing children had greatly increased when, in order to assist in earning the family income, women had to leave the home to work in factories. But equally important in ultimate significance was the augmented demand, as industry developed, for skilled men. A widening range of employments appeared where technical accomplishments were an urgent necessity.¹ But the training now necessary for climbing into the aristocracy of labour was not to be had for the asking. The industrial revolution had in fact upset the traditional system of recruiting skill, as it had so many time-honoured routines. 'The increasing discoveries of science far out-stripped the teaching powers of any individual craftsman. The work of training for industry on scientific lines became infinitely complex and costly.'² Nevertheless, early in the century, incentives were soon ample for encouraging many men to acquire the new training at whatever cost.

After the collapse of militant working-class movements, like Owenism and Chartism, labour was in a frame of mind supremely favourable towards adopting the values cherished among their masters. These latter were above all imbued with a confidence in progress and fortified with a self-satisfaction which took constantly deeper root as the century wore on. The more intelligent working man soon learnt that if only he could nourish the twin virtues of thrift and enterprise, he also could expect to find ways opening to 'self-advancement'. As prosperity flourished, therefore, and seemed to be settling its permanent abode on these shores, the select among workers, those who did not shirk taking 'self-help' as their slogan, joined forces with the higher orders of society in accepting this situation as a challenge to the individual to make the most of it.

¹ *vide supra*, p. 25.

² MARVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

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Many organizations, both philanthropic and commercial, soon sprang up to minister to the habits of thrift that had now to be acquired. Most important of all, helped by the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act of 1852 and later legislation, the Consumers' Co-operative Movement sprang into life, while Friendly Societies and trade unions prepared machinery for encouraging workers' savings. Business enterprise was not slow to seize this opportunity, offering building societies and insurance companies¹ where savings would find a safe and profitable keeping.

But more important by far for the working man's needs than thrift, was education. Their fathers indeed had handed down to them a tradition that education was power, but the students of the Eighteen Twenties and Eighteen Thirties had found that power in an insight into liberal culture, and perhaps in a new ability to agitate for the rights of their class or trade group. To the working man of the Fifties and onwards, however, education appealed as a 'social lever'² by which the individual could develop his talents to improve his own and his family's position in society. The ranks of workers divided. There arose a 'respectable' class of skilled artisan, leaving behind a 'low' stratum of unskilled labourers whose standards of life had failed to keep pace with the rapid advance in decency and comfort enjoyed by the proletarian 'aristocracy'. All efforts to 'self-advancement', however, revolved around the hub of education. Those aspiring to leave the 'low' and join the 'respectable', therefore, conceived an added zest for it. Encouragement both from employers and from working-class societies, indeed, approbation from all sides, was given to the demand for knowledge with an immediate bearing on technical efficiency.

The first traces of an organized effort to supply this technical instruction, the Mechanics' Institutes,³ owed their origin to the efforts of the working men themselves. The London Institute

¹ The Prudential Assurance Company was founded in 1848, specializing particularly in industrial insurance for poor people.

² DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

³ *vide supra*, p. 27.

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opened in 1825 and others soon followed. 'This Society,' announced the prospectus of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, 'has been formed for the purpose of enabling mechanics and artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, [and] acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it.' As early as the Fifties, however, it became apparent that 'those really desirous of obtaining in the Mechanics' Institutes a knowledge of the principles of their trades seldom find that knowledge there'.¹ In short, Institutes were losing their mechanics. Working Men's Colleges, clubs and lectures organized by the Co-operative Movement and Friendly Societies followed the breakdown of the Mechanics' Institutes, and eventually University Extension was born; but most of these aimed at providing a general education for adults, rather than the narrower technical instruction desired by ambitious workmen. For that reason, after the Great Exhibition of 1851 had shown how badly facilities for technical education in this country compared with those on the Continent, the State was driven to take upon itself some responsibility in this direction.

State intervention in technical education had begun in 1837 with the establishment of a School of Design in London and with subsidies to provincial schools of design from 1841 onwards. State support thus remained trifling until the Department of Practical Art, set up under the Board of Trade in 1852, was organized as a branch of the Education Department in 1856 and became known as the Department of Science and Art. The system of grants and of examinations for science and art classes which this Department inaugurated in 1859 laid a firm foundation for technical education.

As the century drew to a close, however, the State still hesi-

¹ Quoted by DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 177, from JAMES HOLE, *History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes*, 1852.

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tated to take any really bold step towards organizing technical education for the masses. Even the ominous results of the Paris Exhibition of 1867¹ prompted no action, nor, at least immediately, did similar experiences at a second exhibition in Paris in 1878.² In 1881 a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the instruction of the industrial classes of certain foreign countries'. They reported in 1884 and awoke public opinion once again to our needs in technical instruction. Many voices joined in the cry that it was high time for technical education to become a vital concern of the State itself. Our deficiency of skilled workmen compared with Germany and the United States was already evident, while developments in the chemical and then in the electrical trades soon made matters worse. The absence of local authorities and of large enough administrative areas had been urged as a serious obstacle to the organization of any post-primary education, so that when this obstacle was removed by the Local Government Act of 1888 setting up County Councils for administrative purposes, no excuse remained for longer delay. Accordingly, the Technical Instruction Act was passed in 1889. The newly established councils for the counties and county boroughs were empowered 'to supply, or aid in supplying, technical instruction, to establish committees for that end, and to levy a rate limited to one penny in the pound'.³ By a miscalculation of the Local Taxation, Customs and Excise Act of 1890, certain other funds also passed into the councils' hands for similar employment.

The use made of these new powers was nevertheless small, so that twelve years later, in parliamentary discussions on the Education Act of 1902, there was still 'a reiterated demand by members of all parties . . . for technical education to bring this country to the level of her industrial competitors'.⁴ At that time, however, total funds were limited and secondary education was given prior claim. More important, the majority of employers

¹ *vide supra*, p. 27.

³ *Spens Report, op. cit.*, p. 54.

² See *Spens Report*, p. 52.

⁴ *LOWNDES, op. cit.*, p. 192.

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refused, despite the public outcry, to accept responsibility for technical education themselves. Then, as now, it was regarded as right and proper that 'the impulse towards technical education [should come] principally from the ambition of the individual student . . . from those who [were] ambitious to rise to better paid, more secure, or more congenial positions; from parents . . . sufficiently ambitious for their children's future . . . to launch them into a skilled career.'¹ Technical education was to be left a personal distinction, dependent upon a manual worker's own or his parents' initiative to acquire the extra accomplishments. The same dilemma faced the wage-earners as faced the salaried class: their ambitions were inconsistent with large families.

The actual fees the working man had to pay for his technical classes might seem small. The annual subscription at Mechanics' Institutes apparently varied between six and twenty-four shillings,² while classes set up later in the century to earn grants from the Department of Science and Art seldom charged less than £1 and usually more. When evening classes became the accepted method of acquiring technical schooling, fees were for the most part between 10s. and £1 10s. od., but for special courses might rise as high as £5 or so. Books and perhaps instruments would often be needed in addition. Small as they were, however, these charges would often have provided a check where the family circle was not a reasonably small one. For it must be remembered that an escape from distasteful conditions of life to employment enjoying a social consideration higher than unskilled labour could seldom be effected without an initial period of traineeship in some form or other, whether apprenticeship, learnership, or extra years at an appropriate school. The time of full wage-earning would thus be voluntarily postponed by a year or more beyond the minimum age set by legal requirements. Add these extra discouragements of large families to those inevitably shared by the whole of the

¹ LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7.

² DOBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

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working class as a result of social and particularly educational developments during last century,¹ and the reason is clear why the birth-rate among skilled artisans fell earlier and far more heavily than among their poorer brethren. These birth-rates in fact fell equally as quickly as among many sections of the middle classes. Once more the rule applied that, when children could no longer be regarded as economic assets, they had to be classified as a sheer encumbrance to families which had set their hearts on avoiding social immobility. The birth-rate among skilled workmen might well have fallen much earlier than it did had not a rising standard of life at first offset the additional costs incurred by their ambitions. Furthermore, it was not at once that the full implications of their 'self-help' doctrine was borne home, nor at once that social conventions condoned the practice of family limitation.² To establish this latter, it probably needed the example of a black-coated middle class important in numbers and prestige, fully and unanimously launched upon this very practice. At any rate, by 1900 or soon after, the family pattern among the 'respectable' working classes was not unlike that to be found among their social superiors.

§5 CONCLUSION

There seems to be, then, no group in the social hierarchy for which the cost of education has not been a factor of importance in causing the collapse of the birth-rate. During the past hundred years the social map has been transformed in such wise as to call into serious question the current order of class boundaries. Occupants of existing seats of power have been driven, under the searching and persistent force of a new spirit which challenged every privilege, to justify that occupancy. At the same time, they have been unable to resist demands for their ranks to be widened so as to admit new men whose individual efforts

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 78-80.

² *vide supra*, p. 56-57.

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have equipped them for passing successfully into a social group higher than the one of their birth. So it has been at every boundary between class and class. So widespread, indeed, have such demands become that our entire social structure must soon have been shattered by the destructive force of a multiplicity of internal stresses and strains. It has saved itself only by eschewing a perfect rigidity and instead admitting a minimal, if not more than minimal, flexibility. In all this struggle, moreover, class after class has resorted to a common means. Whether aristocracy, upper middle class and professionals, lower middle class of black-coated workers, or skilled artisans, all have discovered in education a powerful weapon in their fight for recognition on a higher plane in society or for maintenance of a status in the face of competition. They may at the same time have appreciated education as something of value in itself, but they were above all utilitarian. They may have wanted 'the good life', but they saw that 'the good life' presupposed an ability to earn a living at congenial work and to make a home in the surroundings they desired. Educationists themselves have not been blind to the British public's hard-headedness nor scorned to harness it as a powerful driving-force for purposes of grinding their own axe.

Education, however, could not be bought except at a price — a price which has mounted steadily as the years have passed, to nation no less than to parent. Smaller families became a pressing expedient, and a heavy reduction has resulted in the national birth-rate. Many forces may indeed be held accountable for our steady drift into a small-family habit. No attempt is made in these pages to over-emphasize the influence of the struggle for higher education. This is only a particular aspect of a general tendency on the part of parents anxious to bridge a social gap between themselves and others more favourably placed. Beyond even this wider category of causes, moreover, lie other explanations for our declining fertility, e.g. women's changed attitudes to child-bearing. But among other and per-

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haps more powerful forces, the influence of costs of education, if only because of their simple tangibility, has a paramount claim on our serious attention and concern. Some, no doubt, prompted for other reasons to limit their families, have then found themselves able to afford longer and more expensive educations; but for many the desire to confer these on their children has constituted a primary motive influencing their decision to keep their families small.¹ There is ample evidence, moreover, that this new appetite, far from losing its hold on the national taste, is being felt by an ever-widening circle of parents, and there is no alternative but to recognize the general belief that these aspirations, whatever else they imply, have prompted 'a perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy attempt on the part of the sensible citizen to endow his child with a good education as the best, perhaps the only, capital asset which he can hope to pass on to him'.²

From the national point of view also there is pure gain in better educated citizens. There can be no question, then, of urging men and women to deprive their children of all the cultural and economic advantages of a wider education in order to reduce the pressure which its cost is undoubtedly exerting on the sizes of families. Such a policy would not only be a national folly, but it would be doomed to certain failure. If it is desired to counteract the effects of this pressure, some other expedients must be found. What should these be? No answer can be given to this question before answers have been found for many others. What are the general attitudes to available types of education? What is the precise magnitude of the cost of each

¹ In an article, 'Population and the Future', in the *Political Quarterly*, April-June, 1938, R. F. HARRON maintains that 'To say that people have fewer children because the cost of education has grown is to put the cart before the horse', although he simultaneously admits, and thereby jeopardizes his own thesis, that, 'it is no doubt true of each individual considered separately'. He is inevitably led into this position, however, by accepting the mistaken view that the cause of the declining birth-rate must be sought in contraception. In that case, all other forces are secondary.

² LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

CONCLUSION

of these types? Upon what groups of the community does cost bear most heavily? To what extent is assistance already available towards meeting these costs? Where and why are people still meeting frustration in their efforts to educate their children? Where are new demands for education likely to arise? To find answers for some of these questions, education assisted by the State will be examined first, while in later chapters similar analysis will be made of education provided outside the State control. Parallel with marshalling the various facts, their effects on the birth-rate will be considered. In a final chapter certain policies will be examined whereby the pressure of costs of education on the birth-rate might be relieved.

THE STATE IN EDUCATION

§ I ORGANIZATION OF THE POST-PRIMARY
SCHOOL WORLD

It has been maintained above that in the past the cost of education has exerted a depressing influence on the birth-rate. There is every reason to suppose that the same pressure exists to-day. If, therefore, we desire to formulate a policy to counteract this tendency, our first duty must be to possess ourselves of the facts concerning these costs and the problems associated with them. With that end in view, the province of education dominated by the State will now be examined and an attempt made to find answers to those questions posed at the end of the preceding chapter.

Why a parent should strive against odds to finance a distinguished education for his son or daughter outside the State system and in some famous 'public' school or university, is not difficult to understand. When the expenditure involved can be stated at a spectacularly high figure, there is little reason to ask why such parents might be obliged to curtail their family circles. Incentive, outlay, and effect upon fertility are alike obvious. In later chapters, therefore, when the time comes to survey this field, analysis becomes relatively simple. A mere catalogue of school, university, or professional-training fees, together with residence charges and other incidentals, will suffice, while the prestige of the instruction offered gives an obvious explanation of why it is sought and sacrifices are made for it. Where education under the aegis of the State is concerned, however, the matter is far less straightforward. In the first place, the organization of the system is complex and offers parents quite

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a variety of choices when planning their children's future. By following certain of these choices parents can relieve themselves of all fees; relatively small outlays are demanded if they choose the remaining avenues. Why, then, should it be imagined that schooling whose annual tuition fees may stand at nothing and at most will not rise higher than £15 or so, may exert a definitely depressing effect upon the size of families? There is the first difficulty which has to be explained. The second is bound up with the manner in which, within the scope of State education, parents select one avenue rather than another. Why is there a great competition among families, far from comfortably off, to dispatch their offspring along precisely those avenues where instruction is not universally free, but normally demands the paying of fees?

To solve these riddles, the inter-relations of the various parts of the State's post-primary system of schooling have first to be understood. Some space must, therefore, be devoted to tracing these. Next, it must be shown that the total 'cost' to a parent of maintaining a child during the years of post-primary education does not stop at fees; hence, in relation to the family income of those concerned, insignificance, or even complete absence, of fees does not necessarily imply expense easily borne. In addition to various supplementary outlays of a positive nature that have to be undertaken, wages sacrificed by keeping the child in a classroom instead of sending him to a workshop or office may represent no small burden. So it is to the majority of families whose small income sets post-primary schooling beyond their reach unless it be within the State network. But this host is both large and constantly increasing. An investigation of the above questions must, in consequence, assume the highest importance for our society. By means of that investigation the following thesis can be demonstrated: that among the various types of training available in State post-primary schools, those which exact 'costs' from parents are financially burdensome in proportion as they seem to offer on the whole

THE STATE IN EDUCATION

better prospects to ex-pupils in after life; furthermore, that some promise of social and economic improvement being held out by passage even through the channels of higher State education, parents feel a great pressure upon them to incur the more burdensome 'costs', with a widespread effect upon national fertility. The task of this chapter is to establish that thesis.

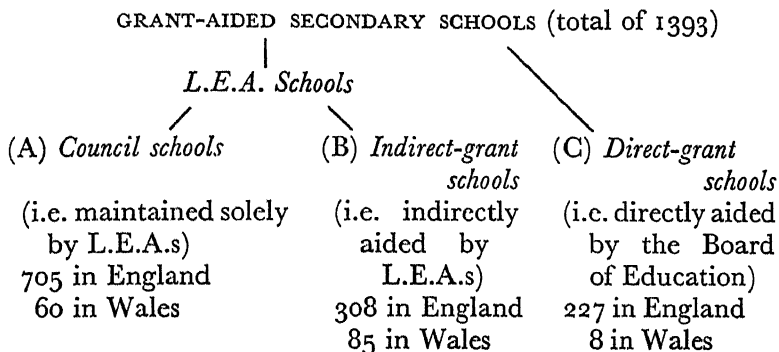
Among all those types of education financed in whole or in part by the State, public elementary schools providing for compulsory education up to the age of 14 predominate in numerical strength. On March 31st, 1938, there were 20,916 of these schools in England and Wales; they had more than 5 million on their registers, including over 90% of all children between the ages of 5 and 11.¹ The vast majority of all children, therefore, begin their education in these public elementary schools. In the earliest years of schooling, at any rate as far as the eleventh birthday, two factors concern the populationist: first, the effort which some parents exert to exempt their children entirely from the State schools, an effort which may have repercussions upon the birth-rate. At the above date that effort was discernible on the part of those responsible for most of the 10% of children mentioned. This group will be studied in the following chapter. In the second place, the fact that every child is legally bound to stay at some school and forgo virtually all remunerative employment until the age of 14, may be expected in its turn to influence fertility. But this factor has already been discussed in the preceding chapter.

The present pages are confined, therefore, to a consideration of the problems which arise round about the eleventh year of those children who have to conclude their education within the system of State schools. At this period they begin, theoretically, a new stage in their careers, which may be characterized by the general term 'post-primary'. In theory, the possibility lies ahead of studying, after about the age of 11, in one of three

¹ It should be understood that England and Wales are referred to throughout this book except where the contrary is indicated.

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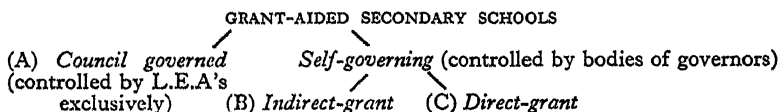
types of school, allocation to which is determined by an examination designed to test ability. The first two of these — senior and central — are classified, for financial purposes, with elementary schools, i.e. those which provide primary education, and draw their funds from local education authorities (L.E.A.s).¹ The third type comprises the grant-aided or State-aided secondary schools (sometimes merely called aided) of which there were 1393 in March 1938 with 479,003 pupils.² A chart of these schools classified by financial status follows:³



¹ They consist, for this purpose, of 63 county councils, 83 county borough councils, 145 borough councils, and 24 urban district councils, i.e. 315 in all. The school buildings, however, may not be the responsibility of these authorities. Such establishments are termed 'voluntary' or 'non-provided' schools, being connected with various religious denominations which appoint bodies of managers to undertake the upkeep of premises.

² 'If the Board are satisfied as to the position of the school in relation to the local supply of higher education and as to its management, religious tests, financial position, scale of fees, provision of special places or free places &c., a Secondary School, but not a Preparatory School, may, on the application of the body responsible for its conduct, be recognized as eligible for grant. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1938. Non-aided schools are referred to in the following chapter.

³ The figures in this chart must, unfortunately, refer to the years 1936-37, since List 65 of the Board of Education is not available for a later date. Classified in terms of form of government, these schools would present another picture:



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The first main group comprises the L.E.A. secondary schools financed in whole or in part by the 146 local education authorities concerned with higher education, i.e. councils of counties and county boroughs. The majority are entirely maintained by the education authorities and in these pages are given the title of council secondary schools.¹ They include establishments for which the authorities have assumed responsibility by becoming trustees of foundations, as well as those directly provided by the authorities. The remainder of the L.E.A. schools are not wholly maintained by the authorities. Up to a point their finances are the concern of their own governors. To the authority, however, falls the responsibility for meeting all deficits visible on each year's budget. In return for guaranteeing such support the authority naturally requires a fair measure of control over organization. Receiving their grants in aid from the local authorities in this way, these are usually called 'indirectly aided'. The second main group of all state-aided schools comprises those directly aided from the Board of Education and paid a fixed grant for each pupil over 10 years of age; they are known as 'direct-grant schools'. These latter schools owe no allegiance whatsoever to local authorities and retain their self-governing character provided that they comply with the Board of Education's regulations for receiving a grant.²

Senior, central and the various kinds of secondary schools form the main staple of State post-primary education. To one of these, children are allotted on the basis of merit shown in the Special Place Examination, a test which is set at about the age of 11. 'The best of all (rarely more than 13%) go to the secondary schools; the second best (roughly about 15%) go to some such institution as a central school . . . the remaining 72% or so stay on at a senior elementary

¹ They include, however, the Welsh Intermediate Schools.

² *vide supra*, footnote 2, p. 93. These 'direct grant' schools constituted in 1936-37 less than a fifth of all aided secondary schools in England and Wales. There were only 8 such schools in Wales.

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school.¹ The tripartite form of our post-primary system we owe to the *Hadow Report* of 1926,² and it represents a relatively recent development in English education. In earlier years a single sort of school, the secondary, had been thought sufficient provision by the State when it responded, in the Education Act of 1902, to the growing clamour for inexpensive post-primary instruction. Such provision and its extent, however, did nothing to still this clamour as the years rolled on; it will be shown below that although the supply of secondary places continued to expand, the demand for them expanded much faster. In the year 1903-04 85,973 pupils were found in aided secondary schools; by 1913 no less than 187,207, or 4.8 per thousand of the country's population. By the end of the Great War almost twice as many were finding accommodation — 308,266, or 8.1 per thousand — and so the movement continued. After 1920, also, it became especially evident that although in absolute numbers the self-governing among grant-aided secondary schools were making substantial gains, yet, as compared with the council secondary schools (i.e. those entirely maintained by L.E.A.s), their progress was not spectacular. Out of aided schools as a whole the self-governing were losing ground. Thus, between 1919 and 1936, boys in the self-governing have increased by 22,645, but in the council-

¹ P. B. BALLARD, *Essays on Examinations* (1936), p. 111. On p. 118 the author adds that these estimates err on the side of generosity towards the proportion of children promoted to the two more advanced types of school.

² Their recommendations did not constitute an entirely new departure, at any rate in principle, since the project of making special provision for the education of children between the ages of 11 plus and 15 plus 'has behind it a history extending back almost to the beginning of public education in England'. (*Report, op. cit.*, p. 70.) The Board of Education had formulated the policy of 'reorganizing' the public system of education for older children as early as 1918, but little was done until the *Hadow Report* outlined a definite scheme. In 1928 the Board officially approved the Hadow scheme, but L.E.A.s remained free to follow or ignore it. Thus, while even before 1925 senior and central schools had been launched in some areas, elsewhere nothing was done until 1937. In Scotland, by contrast, powers granted under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, which envisaged raising the compulsory school-leaving age to 15, prompted a much earlier movement towards reorganization.

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governed and Welsh Intermediate schools by 81,556. The corresponding girls' schools have shown gains of 14,907 and 63,693 respectively.¹ As for secondary schools entirely outside the State system, it will be shown in the following chapter that they have experienced least progress of all. It was undoubtedly this tremendous pressure upon institutions directly furnished by L.E.A.s that prompted the creation of the two new categories — senior and central schools — in order to throw the gates of post-primary training still wider.

In 1907 the Board of Education inaugurated the policy of making grants in aid to secondary schools upon a new and far more generous scale, but on the condition that a prescribed minimum percentage of pupils should be accepted from public elementary schools each year and given a free place. So was laid a new foundation to our public post-primary education. The traditional view of all higher education as the privilege of the well-to-do had been challenged with authority; a revolution in which training beyond the public elementary school might be offered to abler children from among the poorer sections of the community, was promised. Ten years later 72.6% of all those admitted to State-aided secondary schools were still being required to pay fees; of these fee-payers almost two-thirds (61.7%), moreover, were coming from public elementary schools. The revolution, then, while real in the realm of principle, was less tangible in the sphere of practice. The Board still regarded secondary training as something of a luxury, but not a luxury confined to one class so much as open in the main to those who, from whatever walk of life, could pay for it. For about a decade after the Great War this conception prevailed in England and Wales, but the price of the luxury was reduced. Thus, whereas in England less than 1% of grant-

¹ Whereas since the Great War the self-governing group has somewhat shrunk in numbers of establishments (as opposed to the figures of their pupils), Welsh intermediate schools have remained about the same in number and council secondary schools have swollen from the number of 545 in 1920 to 656 in 1925, 701 in 1929, and 773 in 1938.

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aided schools charged no fee in 1910, the proportion had been raised ten years later to about 2%, and by 1932 to 4.3%. Wales was more generous and presented, in 1932, a corresponding figure of 17.2%.¹ North of the Border, where they have always been ahead in higher education, free places were made almost universal after the Great War, with the result that to-day there are not far short of twice as many per 1000 of the Scottish population enjoying education in secondary departments of their grant-aided schools as there are south of the Border per 1000 of the relevant population.

During 1932, in the depths of the Great Depression, the Board of Education decided to abolish free places. The system, in their opinion, involved a wastage of public money. 'Hitherto, while the gross cost per pupil in Provided or Aided secondary schools, inclusive of loan charges, has averaged about £35 per annum, the fees charged have ranged from nil to 20 guineas or more, the difference being arbitrary and often corresponding to no ascertainable difference in local conditions. Moreover, under the free place provisions it was open to the fee-charging schools to admit from 25% to 50% of the pupils free, subject to no condition as to financial need other than the requirement that a certain proportion of them should have attended a public elementary school, with the result that many thousands of children were receiving a secondary education free of charge whose parents could well have afforded to make some contribution towards the cost.'² Henceforward pupils of merit selected in an annual examination would be awarded 'Special Places', but these would mean no more than a mark of distinction unless, after application of a means test, the authorities should find the circumstances of the parents justifying some assistance—remission of fees either totally or in part, maintenance allowances and additions for those in extreme need towards

¹ Figures in this paragraph, and generally throughout this chapter, come from *Annual Reports of the Board of Education*.

² Education in 1932, being the Board of Education's *Annual Report* for that year. Chap. ii.

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books, travel, clothes, and food. It was expected that the number of elections to Special Places would be similar to the number of free places offered under the existing regulations, i.e. for the most part somewhere between 25% and 50% of all pupils admitted in the previous school year.

Local conditions, however, intervened to prevent uniformity. Thus, reporting at the end of 1932 the Board acknowledged that it had 'acceded to proposals for an increase [in the existing percentage of free places] where this was shown to be necessary to maintain the existing facilities for the children of the poor, and to enable fees to be raised without risk of depleting the schools. In areas where either the schools have been free or the fees very low, the Board have agreed to the whole of the places being treated as "Special" Places [100% Special Places] and this course has also been adopted in a few other cases where the Board are assured that it meets the needs of the area and that the educational and financial results will be satisfactory'.¹ In some areas, for example, the number of free places had already been kept relatively small by restricting these places to incomes below a certain level. If these same small numbers had been accepted for defining the maximum of Special Places, the provision of assistance for poor children might have been much reduced, since only a fraction of the new Special Places might also be free places. The remainder could be monopolized by children holding them in an honorary capacity and with no financial support from public funds whatsoever, their parents' incomes being considered too high to justify assistance.

Thus was the system of free places exchanged for that of Special Places. The same Special Place Examination, on the basis of which at about the age of 11 children are divided among senior, central, and secondary schools,² serves to detect those worthy of occupying a Special Place in the most superior of the three. To have won such a place does not, it has already been shown, necessarily bring relief from all fees. That will

¹ Education in 1932, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² See above, p. 93.

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depend on a means test as applied to a parent's income. Again, quite apart from the Special Places reserved in secondary schools, there persists, in most districts, a certain proportion of desks to be filled by fee-paying pupils who must acquit themselves reasonably well in the Special Place Examination, or in an entrance test set by the individual school, but need not, in practice, show anything like the ability and promise required of a Special Place winner and often found even among children allocated to central schools.¹ Financially, therefore, our post-primary system consists on the one hand of senior, central, and some secondary Special Place pupils whose parents pay no fees, and on the other hand of certain other Special Place pupils, together with all non-Special Place secondary attendants — in fact, rather more than half of secondary school scholars — whose parents pay fees up to various amounts and probably come each from much the same sections of society. Regarded, however, from the angle of educational theory, the system is designed to furnish three different, but parallel, types of education into one of which the child is launched by a purely selective examination at about the age of 11. Such, at any rate, was the aim of the *Hadow Report*: the senior and central establishments were to offer instruction of a more practical bent for pupils whose talents were not fitted for the somewhat exclusively academic nature of the secondary curricula, but this difference should not cause one type of school to be valued above or below the others. 'A humane or liberal education is not one given through books alone, but one which brings children into contact with the larger interests of mankind' wrote the Committee.²

Unfortunately, however, the features of the system present two different pictures according to their scrutiny in terms either of financial practice or of educational theory. The Special Place Examination is not only a means of selection by aptitudes, i.e. a method of allocating children to secondary, central, or

¹ See below, pp. 157-59.

² *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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senior schools; it has also to adjudge whether certain children shall receive a free or practically free education in that old-established and respected branch, the secondary school. The Examination, in consequence, tends to be regarded by many families not as selective, but as competitive. Indeed, its very name suggests that the educationists themselves regard it as a factor in the hard world of money and ambition, rather than through the eyes of Hadowistic idealism. Again, the fact that all pupils in secondary schools are not holders of Special Places, but chosen rather because their parents can pay the fees than because they seem fit for the type of instruction offered, is bound from the first to exempt a large section of the post-primary school world from the principle of selection.

Even on the assumption, then, that the training in the three types of school, though different, is equal in value, it would remain true that the manner in which the Special Place Examination functions in the sphere of post-primary education, reflects something other than the spirit of Hadowism. Furthermore, that assumption cannot possibly be sustained. Twelve years after its original recommendations the Consultative Committee could still refer to parity of schools at the post-primary stage as little more than a conception, towards which educational thought had advanced in the interval, but without carrying the administrative system with it.¹ It was all very well to recommend that a liberal education should be provided in senior and central schools 'by means of a curriculum containing large opportunities for practical work and closely related to living interests'.² The aim was to imitate in those schools during the first two years the teaching of the first two years given in secondary schools. Thereafter, the treatment of subjects should be 'practical in the broadest sense and brought directly into relation with the facts of every-day life. The courses of instruction, though not merely vocational or utilitarian, should be used

¹ In the Committee's Report known as the *Spens Report*, p. 293.

² *Hadow Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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to connect the school work with interests arising from the social and industrial environment'.¹ But whereas the secondary courses are designed to extend over five years' training, the central schools can normally count on keeping their pupils only for four years, the senior schools for no more than three. Moreover, contrary to the pleas of the Hadow Committee that children being provided for outside the secondary schools 'ought not to be hampered by conditions of accommodation and equipment inferior to those of the schools now described as Secondary',² the senior and central establishments have been kept, for financial purposes, in the category of elementary schools.³ In elementary schools the annual average cost per child of school buildings amounts to about £35 14s. od., in secondary schools to £103. The average expenditure per pupil on school maintenance each year amounts to £33 in secondary schools, in contrast with £20 in central and £15 in senior schools.⁴ New buildings for senior and central schools are, it is true, often both elegant and well-equipped, but rebuilding has not gone far and as yet the distinction between secondary schools on the one hand and senior or central on the other is usually marked not only in architectural design and floor space but in the provision of class-rooms, specialist rooms for geography, science and the handicrafts particularly important in modern schools, libraries, assembly halls, cloakrooms, dining halls and staff rooms. In addition, the stipulation that 'the standard of staffing in proportion to the number of pupils in the schools as well as the qualification of the teachers should approximate to those required for the corresponding forms in Secondary Schools',⁵ has never been observed. In secondary school classes are for the most part restricted to 30, but for senior and central schools the standard prescribed is no less than 40

¹ *Hadow Report, op. cit.*, p. 175.

² *Report, op. cit.*, p. 131.

³ *vide supra*, p. 93.

⁴ See the *Board of Education's Report for 1933*, and *Memorandum on the Board of Education Estimates, 1938*.

⁵ *Hadow Report*, p. 131.

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Their teachers, instead of being specially and fully trained in this type of post-primary work, are all too often those who have tried and failed to get into a secondary school. Indeed, teachers can scarcely be blamed for such an attitude while the higher secondary scale for teachers' salaries obtains only outside senior and central schools. Teachers, like their charges, usually, although not invariably, come to these schools as a second best.

There is overwhelming evidence, therefore, that the Board of Education has not been able to take the notion of parity among the three main pillars of the post-primary world at all seriously. It is hardly necessary, in consequence, to look any further to discover why parents and the public at large persist in regarding secondary schools as superior and much more desirable places of instruction in comparison with their upstart rivals. The original post-primary State institution, the academic nature of whose instruction tends both to ape the famous 'public' schools and to draw further honour from the fact that it serves as a direct preliminary to university work, has maintained its prestige and its title as offering the only 'proper' post-primary State education unchallenged. Viewed in this light, the true nature of the Special Place Examination assumes a still more ominous colour. Presiding over the education of the great majority of our children during their vital, adolescent years, it must bear a great weight of responsibility for making or marring their prospects, perhaps their careers. 'Every year the fate of about half a million children hangs upon its results. In sheer magnitude it dwarfs every other public examination in the Kingdom. Even the School Certificate Examination, with its annual tale of close upon 70,000 candidates, comes a very poor second.'¹ All the candidates covet a Special Place in a secondary school; yet so limited is the desired accommodation that no more than 1 in 8 of these children can hope to win a Place. Failing that, even fee-paying places in secondary class-

¹ *Essays on Examinations*, *op. cit.*, P. B. BALLARD, p. 111.

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rooms are none too plentiful. Even if as many as 50% of candidates came from families capable of paying the fees in addition to less obvious 'costs', not more than 5% of the half million could rely upon admission as 'ordinary' fee-paying pupils.¹

§ 2 THE PROSPECTS AHEAD OF PUPILS FROM POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS

If only on account of the official handling of matters, then, the public is led to conceive strong preferences for the secondary school. Those preferences are strengthened when the post-primary world of education is placed in a general social context. Precisely what type of training can each of the three sorts of school offer their charges, and to what may it be expected to lead in after life?

A full answer to the second of those questions would require a survey of British social and economic life such as these pages could hardly accommodate; even if they could, adequate and precise information is not available. Consequently, our aim must be to give a typical answer, representative of the great majority of the country — a solution quite adequate for the purpose of this chapter which is to outline the main factors determining the average parent's attitude to the State post-primary schools. In the main, the schools of a given district turn out products for whom the demand is local — at any rate, that is the normal expectation in the parents' mind.² Naturally, the range of occupations to be filled in an agricultural county is very different from that in a large manufacturing or commercial city. In particular, the supply of skilled manual or

¹ At the beginning of the Autumn term, 1938, 92,639 pupils were admitted to the grant-aided secondary schools, 64,190 as Special Place holders, 28,449 as 'ordinary' fee-payers. See Board's *Report*, 1938, p. 14.

² Individual families here and there naturally constitute exceptions, e.g., the Devonshire family which can plan to send up its children, educated in local secondary schools, to live with friends in London in the early stages of white-collar employment such as is scarce in the agricultural south-west.

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white-collar jobs is unevenly distributed over the country. Thus, the expectation of secondary scholars' finding white-collar employment is much greater from some schools than from others; but, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that, through the action of local authorities, some correlation is maintained between local openings into economic life and the quantity of each grade of skill regularly supplied by the educational system as a whole for that district. In view of this correlation, and in view of Britain's predominantly industrial and commercial character, it is safe to say that local conditions will not upset the broad arguments about each type of school given below.¹

As for the senior school, the intellectual resources of its protégés are normally small when they represent the residue after the cream has been skimmed off by the secondary, and then by the central, school. 'If the free place examination has done its work properly, the senior schools will be receiving annually batches of children of all grades of ability ranging from perhaps 20% possessing intelligence above the normal to perhaps 40% who would in the former undifferentiated [i.e. elementary] school have remained in a class with children one, two, or more years younger than themselves.'² However, despite their modest material certain of the senior schools have been fulfilling a real social need with success. 'There are hundreds of thousands now leaving reorganized senior schools who have acquired some understanding of their country's past, of its social, economic and industrial life and relationships, of how things work and how they are made, of the lore of the countryside; who can read the newspapers, visit a play or film or listen to the wireless with more than a bare understanding; who may have come near experiencing perfection in the music of their school; . . . who

¹ Because senior, central and secondary schools are examined in turn in the following paragraphs, no implication is intended that all these types are found in every district of the country. Their distribution is examined in Section 4, and its influence on parental policy considered.

² LOWNDES, *op. cit.*, p. 150. The following quotation comes from the same page.

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have learnt to read good books intelligently and to find them in the public library; . . . who can even assemble their ideas with sufficient self-reliance to take an intelligent part in a conversation or debate.' Many senior schools still fall far short of this ideal, and at their best they cannot hope to compete with either central or secondary schools where children normally stay longer, and where equipment and upkeep are on a more generous scale. Consequently, the two hallmarks for which an employer looks in a young applicant for a job can almost never be conferred by the senior school—two or three years' 'secondary' education (by which they mean commencing about the 14th birthday), and success in the school certificate examination or some equivalent test.

Families, therefore, anxious for the welfare of their offspring, cannot help regarding the senior school with aversion. The prospects it holds out are definitely inferior. The great majority of its protégés are destined to become hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are precipitated without special qualifications into the unskilled labour market. The demand by retail distributors for van boys and messengers has long been notorious, but these trades are by now far from unique. As purely repetitious work in mass production has steadily grown in importance with increasing mechanization of industry, the jobs have multiplied which boys and girls of 14 and 15 can do with complete efficiency.¹ The number of hours during which these boys and girls can be kept at work are now fortunately limited,² but prospects of promotion are usually slender. Cotton, coal, wool, heavy engineering, shipbuilding, in fact all the basic industries of Britain, can now offer little more than blind alleys to a vast number of the boys they are eager to embrace as soon as they can escape from the schoolroom.³ Even

¹ See VALENTINE BELL, *Juvenile Instruction Centres and Their Future*, p. xv. Also, *National Juvenile Advisory Committee's Reports*, 1932 and 1933.

² By the Young Persons (Employment) Act 1938, which came into operation in January, 1939.

³ See *National Juvenile Advisory Committee's Report*, 1933.

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more serious, the job may often hold out small chance of permanence. At 18 when wages might be expected to rise, a large number of young men find themselves replaced by a fresh crop of youngsters from school. Emerging with no special training, they may well join the ranks of unemployed in early manhood. Young women, it is true, stand in less danger of unemployment, but only because their labour can be worse paid, and because large numbers will voluntarily leave work to get married.

In short, the majority of children leaving senior schools for employment, will find closed even those doors to progress and skilled work which they might reasonably have expected to remain open. Perpetual uncertainty and, frequently, unemployment will be their lot. A small fraction of the boys still strive to achieve a skilled status through apprenticeship, but with the growing mechanization of industry and the consequent replacement of skilled by unskilled labour, opportunities for this are rapidly disappearing in one industry after another.¹ Even where such a contract can be made, moreover, there is no guarantee that a boy will secure an all-round training for his trade. There is an increasing tendency to use apprentices on routine work as cheap unskilled labour.²

Worst of all, the hopeless fate of children entering industry from senior schools is finally sealed by the reluctance of employers to release them for part-time education. During 1935-36 engineering and allied industries, while employing 68,190 insured lads between the ages of 14 and 17, gave no more than 8021 of them time off for technical instruction. In 1936-37, it is true, they increased this figure to 10,175, but meanwhile the

¹ There is scarcely a report from the Juvenile Employment Committee which does not emphasize the steady decline in apprenticeship, e.g. 'Rather than accept this responsibility [of apprenticeship] certain employers prefer to pay the higher wage to a handy boy so as to be free to discharge him when from the employer's point of view it is desirable to do so.' (The Cardiff Committee's Report for 1935-36).

² Hence the strikes of apprentices in the engineering trades on the Clyde and in Lancashire at the end of 1937.

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number of young employees in engineering had increased to 81,780. In other trades, notably furnishing, things are worse. The furnishing industry employed 22,330 boys during 1936, but released for day-time classes no more than the miserable quota of 88. In all, over 2,000,000 boys and girls aged 14 to 17 are in insured occupation, but only some 42,000 of them are set free from work for part-time education during the day-time.

The above analysis of senior-school prospects may be modified in a favourable direction in parts of the country where no central schools are so far established, and where the supply of secondary schools is not so extended as to supplement the deficiency of central.¹ In these parts, the senior institutions obtain a certain proportion of pupils of a higher intellectual calibre, who would otherwise have been drawn into central schools. At the same time, they tend to collect pupils from a wider area than is normal for senior schools if central establishments exist nearby. For these reasons, especially if the school buildings are new and imposing, the local business men may hold the senior school in somewhat higher regard, and its products may stand a chance of avoiding the least desirable types of unskilled occupation and even of rising above that category altogether. The same modification of senior scholars' prospects holds, though less strongly, in other districts where the supply of central or senior schools is particularly meagre.²

In every respect — average length of course, quality of scholar, funds available and prospects held out — the central school is superior to the senior, although still in the main below the standards of the secondary. In some districts, where, for example, the headmaster or headmistress of a central school possesses the confidence of the business community, and the scholars have been discovered by experience to be well trained,

¹ Wales offers an excellent example of this very wide extension of secondary schools.

² Where senior schools are lacking altogether, of course, what has been said above concerning the senior scholar's employment prospects applies to children from unreorganized elementary schools, for which see pp. 136-37 below.

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the chances of falling into a relatively good job may be about as high for children leaving that school as for those leaving secondary establishments in the neighbourhood. But standards vary over the country as much with central as with senior schools. The main recommendation to the anxious parent must inevitably be that central schools, taken together, prepare a fair quota of their charges for the school certificate examination, and an even larger quota for the Royal Society of Arts' school commercial certificate. Short of winning these prizes, the less advanced scholars, or those unable for financial reasons to stay for the full four years' training, often succeed in passing a part of the latter examination, e.g. in English, arithmetic, history, geography or commerce, thus qualifying in 'group subjects' as they are called. These badges of competency almost universally, although to differing degrees, command the respect of the possible employer. Consequently, the product of the central school stands a far better chance of rescue from the unskilled labour market than his fellow issuing from a senior school and quite a fair chance of reaching the relatively secure and respected haven of clerical occupation.

In the parental mind, therefore, the central school must hold a much higher place than the senior. Highest of all stands the secondary, but separated from the central by a far wider gap; for while in every sort of desirability enumerated above the secondary establishment normally commands a further degree of excellence than the central, in addition it possesses a quite new type of attractiveness. This last is social prestige, conferred upon secondary training because it has adhered to the more academic, and traditionally 'liberal', kind of education and thus has seemed to conform more closely to the stamp of the 'public' schools and the universities.¹ The consciousness of this prestige in the public mind has been strengthened by official action; by segregating the senior and central schools under a code outside the secondary and in one which implies altogether

¹ *vide supra*, p. 102.

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lower standards, it has confirmed the impression that a 'liberal' education is only to be acquired by means of studying academic subjects, preferably the classics. In fact, the true value of such training for many casts of mind is highly dubious. Nevertheless, most parents, however mistakenly, believe that here is an example where prestige is a guarantee of genuine culture. That they are eager for their children to acquire this culture for its own sake, has many witnesses. A Departmental Committee wrote in 1920: 'Our evidence has also indicated to us that there is a real and growing desire for further education, not only for the economic advantages it may secure, but also for its own sake as enhancing the value of life.'¹ The *Hadow Report* of 1926 also pointed to a heightened appreciation of the less tangible benefits to be derived from a secondary education. On the other hand, many parents, particularly those with a working-class origin and dissatisfied with their place in the social hierarchy, feel that, once in prospect of white-collar occupation, their children can look forward to a much easier acceptance among the respectable, black-coated middle class if they have armed themselves with that tone only available, for families of their means, within the walls of the secondary school. A place within these walls becomes, in consequence, doubly desirable. It should greatly ease the path of social mobility. Indeed, one education authority declared in the middle Twenties that, on the normal expectation of black-coated occupation after leaving its secondary schools, 'two scholars out of three will receive a definite lift in social status even should they not rise beyond the classes whose children are eligible for scholarships' [i.e. classes whose annual income did not exceed £450].

The chance of direct employment not only in some sort of white-collar job, but in a relatively well-paid and secure one holding reasonable prospects of later promotion, is most noticeably enhanced when the transition is made from central

¹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places, 1920*, p. 35.

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to secondary school. According to the Board's Annual Reports, the proportion of the latter's pupils absorbed by professional, commercial and clerical occupations is steadily rising. For those who left during the school year 1937-38, it reached 38.7%. If teaching and higher education were combined with these occupations, 62.4% of all leaving the secondary schools would be included. Parents may well feel confident that a secondary education will give a fair guarantee of avoiding that work 'with the hands' which they shirk, and of leading to the desired work 'with the head'. Posts in the lower ranks of the Civil Service form a particular inducement to such parents. They hold out a rosy prospect of safe, fairly lucrative, and pensionable places, while the repute generally attached to them more than compensates for a scope and interest in the work which may often leave much to be desired. For their daughters in particular, parents, even among small tradesmen and artisans, are increasingly anxious to prepare the way to a sheltered occupation in commerce, and not infrequently even to professional rank as an elementary school teacher.¹ To vast numbers from the working and lower middle classes the State secondary schools stand as the only gateway to such achievements. On the other hand, of pupils leaving these schools above the age of 14 about the same proportion — 2.6% in 1925-26 falling somewhat to 1.7% in 1937-38 — enter agricultural or rural occupation, while a larger and slightly increasing proportion are unable to avoid industrial or manual — rising from 16.3% of boys in 1925-26 to 24.2% in 1934-35 and thereafter falling by one or two per cent, and for girls rising from the much smaller figure of 2.8% in 1925-26 to 5.6% in 1932-33 and then falling as with boys.

Mere entry to a secondary school, however, does not confer the right to entertain these rosy prospects. Generally speaking, scholars must be prepared to stay there for the course of five

¹ See *Social Survey of the Merseyside*, vol. 3, p. 181; and *Spens Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

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years and pass the school certificate examination.¹ Without such a pass all professional ambitions must remain abortive, direct passage to commerce or industry handicapped. Most employers seem to attach a curious importance to this certificate, regarding it in particular as the hall-mark of a good clerk; and since clerical posts are precisely those aimed at by the majority of secondary scholars, the passing of the examination is bound to represent, in the minds of their families, the chief *raison d'être* of secondary education. This reasoning holds less rigorously for girls, however, for whom accomplishment in shorthand, typewriting and kindred techniques is generally more important in securing the kind of job open to them. Thus, while the army of girls presented for the school certificate examination during the past 12 years has increased at a moderate pace, entries for boys over the same period have almost doubled. In the school year 1924-25 19,485 girls and 21,962 boys sat the examination, whereas 26,099 girls and as many as 36,449 boys appeared in 1937-38. The meaning of this growing scramble for certificates can be appreciated by relating it to the relevant school populations. The best available index for this purpose is given by comparing the entries for the examination in a given year with the admissions to the schools five years earlier; for five years' preparation is normally necessary. This index reveals that, whereas the examination candidates from the grant-aided schools in 1929 numbered 56% of all admitted to those schools in 1924-25, the corresponding percentage rose steadily in subsequent years until it reached 68.1% for the candidates of 1937. If count is taken only of those successful in the test and they are related to the same totals, they will be found to have increased from 40.4% to 49.5%.² Such investigations as the Merseyside

¹ See *A Secondary School Entrance Test*, chap. viii, by W. A. BROCKINGTON (1934). He describes an investigation into the careers of some 1000 pupils coming from 10 schools, of whom 69.2% successful in passing the school certificate examination had been in the school at least 5 years.

² The percentage of candidates actually passing the examination has shown no trend over these years. It has fluctuated around 72% or 73%.

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Survey have shown that 'there is evident correlation between success in examinations and the subsequent occupational grading of the child. In every area without exception the higher the grade of occupation entered the better was the previous examination record in school'.¹ It is not, therefore, difficult to understand why both entrants for the school certificate and passes in the examination have grown faster than the total relevant populations in the schools. The intensified competition within the school reflects the fight for desirable jobs and social mobility outside it. If a student can afford to stay on for the additional years necessary to study for the higher school certificate at about the age of 17 or 18, his prospects are correspondingly brightened.

In short, parents with ambition but low incomes will make every effort to enter their children in secondary schools, and to keep them there until the age of 16. Once the secondary school door is closed against the child from the elementary school — whether because the subjects of the Special Place Examination did not suit him, or because his intellectual abilities had developed late, or through sheer bad luck on the days of the test — the path to work which will carry respect as well as a decent and secure wage is bound for the most part to be extremely hazardous. A relatively small band in the central schools may acquire qualifications comparable with those of the secondary scholar; but if it came to direct competition with him, they would very seldom emerge the victor. In an age when the spectre of unemployment overshadows the vast majority of young lives, such calculations are far from merely academic. Consequently, the total output from the senior schools, and most of that from the central, must, if the unskilled labour market is to be avoided, try to supplement its training in some direction, and reduce as far as possible the handicap under which, throughout the future, it is almost certain to labour.

A few parents are fortunate enough, when in such a predica-

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 177, vol. III.

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ment, to espy a plain sign-post, which reads: 'Junior technical school: the instruction given in the fundamental principles underlying the practice of a trade makes it possible to place boys in positions in modern industry with excellent prospect of promotion.'¹ As a group, the junior technical schools are primarily vocational, but their curricula are by no means confined to technical and craft subjects. The more broadly cultural subjects, such as English, history, and geography, are also studied.

Nearly all the recruits for these schools come from the senior at about the age of 13, and stay for a two-year course. On March 31st, 1938, distributed among 271 establishments in England the full complement of junior technical schools numbered 31,516,² of which some three-quarters were boys. To obtain an entrance, an examination, conducted under the supervision of the L.E.A.s and designed to fit the same purpose as the Special Place Examination, must be sat. It is estimated³ that about half the aggregate school population, although it must have reached a certain minimum standard in the examination, consists of 'ordinary' pupils able to claim no financial assistance. Once admitted, the new candidates distribute themselves among five quite different types of establishment — boys' junior technical, trade, junior housewifery, junior commercial, and junior art, schools.

The most important of these, and therefore those to which the general title is frequently taken to refer, are the boys' junior technical schools, which alone account for about as many pupils as the other four types taken together. These give a general preparation to enter specific industries or groups of industries without restriction to particular trades within those industries. Engineering and the constructive industries are the most popu-

¹ *Aid to Students, Handbook*, 1937, issued by the County Council of Middlesex Education Committee, p. 23.

² Contrast this figure with the 470,003 in grant-aid secondary schools at the same time.

³ *A Review of Junior Technical Schools in England*, Board of Education, Educational Pamphlet No. 111 (1937).

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lar, but some schools prepare for the chemical, mining, or fishing industries, while others, especially in districts where there are no industries large enough to absorb the bulk of the school's annual output, now give a general industrial training. The second group are the trade schools. These prepare boys and girls to enter specific occupations suitable to each.¹ Practically all these schools are in London, where in fact they too are now given the general title of junior technical schools, although they are still popularly — and more usefully — called trade schools. They are nowadays patronized usually by fewer than 1000 boys, but by three times as many girls, who are in the main preparing for workrooms in the West End of London. The third group is constituted by the junior housewifery schools, which are designed to train girls for home management. Their total enrolment is never more than a few hundreds.

It is as true to-day of these three types of school as it was at their birth in 1913, that 'these schools were definitely not intended to provide courses . . . for higher full-time technical work, or commercial life. They were designed to prepare their pupils either for artisan or other industrial occupations or for domestic employment'.² Since the early days, however, two new types of school have been developed: first, the junior art schools, where upwards of 2300 can normally be found; then, the junior commercial schools preparing boys and girls to enter the lower ranks of commercial life. With the swelling demand for labour in this field, and the even greater desire of young people to enter it, these schools have grown in importance. They now accommodate rather more than one-quarter of the pupils in all types of junior technical school taken together.

¹ i.e., book production, boot and shoe manufacture, cabinet making, carriage building, chefs and waiters, hairdressing, meat trades, motor and aeroplane metalwork, music trades, photo-engraving and photography, rubber trades, silversmithing and jewellery, or tailoring, for boys; dressmaking, tailoring, vest making, millinery, lingerie, embroidery, upholstery, domestic service, cookery, hairdressing, photography, nursemaid and laundry work, for girls. See *A Review of Junior Technical Schools in England*, *op. cit.*

² *Spens Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

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As a body, these schools have the reputation for setting their pupils' feet, at any rate, on the road to skilled work and promotion into responsible positions. Nevertheless, the technical school, where gross costs per head of students amount only to £25 10s. od. a year in contrast to the £33 of the secondary school, can only hope to lead its protégés half the way towards the security of white-collar occupation. Perhaps this handicap might be reduced for the one in four of all junior technical pupils who are able to attend a junior commercial school. Even then, however, they would have to face competition with secondary school attendants — 75 times their own number — and particularly with those who have acquired a school certificate — amounting to 45,501 during 1937-38. There is little doubt that these latter, if not also their companions without the certificate, would take preference over those up to the number of 3000 leaving the junior commercial schools at the same time. Especially is this true if the secondary pupil has later acquired specialized commercial training.¹

Another and more important way in which young people can supplement their training is to be found in evening instruction, an arduous undertaking since it must be relegated to the most fatigued part of the day, nevertheless a popular one. Here is a method, resorted to by children leaving every sort of State school, of improving their status in employment. Many who emerge from the senior school will adopt it in order to lever themselves out of the rut of the unskilled; not a few from secondary schools are employed on the more or less tacit understanding that they shall attend evening classes, which become, in consequence, a virtually compulsory extension of the work-day; those fresh from the desks of the junior technical school go

¹ This he might do in senior full-time technical schools, whose two or three year courses — in industrial and professional, as well as in commercial, subjects — designed to meet the need of post-secondary scholars, begin at about the age of 16. But, for the most part, employers frown upon these courses: they prefer to get their young people (apart from girls with commercial accomplishments) directly from the secondary school. Hence, during 1937-38, the aggregate of pupils aged 16-18 in senior technical schools was as small as 4375.

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on by part-time work to build upon the foundations of skill they have already laid.

Almost any subject can be studied in one way or another and in a more or less advanced stage by part-time workers. One type, however, stands out. Boys seeking responsible posts in mechanical or electrical engineering, building, chemistry, naval architecture, or textiles, can direct their studies towards a National Certificate,¹ and in commerce towards the Board of Education's Endorsed Certificate in Commerce. A final examination for an 'Ordinary National Certificate' would in general conclude a course extending over three sessions, during each of which a student would attend school on three evenings a week. Only the fortunate minority released for classes during the day-time could undertake less evening instruction and thereby allow themselves more time for private study. Boys whose full-time education had stopped much before 16 would have to take a preparatory 'junior' course for two years, whereas those who had not left school even at 16 might be admitted to the second, or even the third, year of the ordinary 'senior' course. By working for two more years, the more ambitious and able students can follow the 'Ordinary' with 'Higher' National Certificates. During 1937-38, 6142 part-time students throughout England and Wales presented themselves at final examinations for all the Ordinary Certificates, and 1680 for Higher Certificates—three-quarters of both being in mechanical and electrical engineering.

To gauge the value of National Certificates in Engineering, there is little need to look beyond the fact that engineering firms have now made it clear that young recruits with ambitions to rise to responsible posts should undoubtedly work for a Certificate. Outside engineering, the status of these Certificates seems less clear; but although employers have been less

¹ National Certificates correspond to the National Diplomas conferred upon full-time students. The latter might study in senior technical schools (mentioned on p. 115, footnote 1, above) or technical colleges. (See chap. v, p. 305.)

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explicit on the subject, there can be little doubt that the Certificates in building, chemistry, and textiles have by now also gained the confidence not only of the schools and students but also of the industries themselves.

In industries where a Certificate exists, an enterprising boy would seldom be wrongly advised to make this Certificate his goal. As yet, however, a large proportion of all the thousands of youths in industry and commerce are covered by no such scheme: their road to success by part-time, usually evening, education being thus less well-defined, will often prove itself correspondingly more precarious. The vast majority, however, would nevertheless find local evening schools offering them alternatives enough from which to make their choice. In towns and cities, the youth would be rare who could not find himself suited; only in country districts is there much likelihood of meeting with such a difficulty. In that situation, ambitious youngsters must have recourse to the second main type of part-time study — the correspondence course. Many a town worker, too, unable from temperament or from irregular hours of employment to make use of evening classes, will become a correspondence student; others again will in this way supplement their classes. Dozens of correspondence schools, offering every sort of instruction, exist throughout the country, adopting 'promotion' and 'success' as their watchwords. One of the largest, for example — International Correspondence Schools Ltd. — typically enough publishes its journal under the title, *Ambition*, and there can be no doubt that the more reputable of these establishments do provide valuable instruction, help students to improve their status in employment, and command the approval of employers in lieu of attendance at night school. Although this mode of study is bound to be lacking in practical experience, many employers urge it upon their young staff; many of the diplomas and certificates of proficiency thus gained, although issued by private bodies of anything but uniform standing, do perform a useful if limited service, and, it must be

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conceded, help to equip for responsible posts those who have left the State schools. How many are assisted by this method, it is impossible to ascertain accurately since the correspondence schools, being competitive institutions, publish no figures. Reliable estimates, however, indicate many thousands.

The typical career of boys from State schools, therefore, is to conclude their full-time education at the age of 16 or before, and thereafter to take up part-time instruction. This career is less typical, however, of their sisters. The most respectable type of work the average girl can hope for on leaving a State school, either with or without a school certificate, lies in the lower branches of the clerical or secretarial world, where, it has already been mentioned, a working knowledge of shorthand and typing is all but essential.¹ At least the beginnings of that knowledge may be acquired in 'commercial' forms within many secondary and central schools. It may be carried further in many of the junior and senior technical schools. But in order to reach a high standard of skill, and at the same time to have obtained the prestige of a school certificate and a secondary education, it is a common thing for girls to attend, for one or two years after quitting a State secondary school, a private 'commercial college' such as Pitman's. There are hundreds of these establishments scattered throughout the country, and if a parent is ambitious to qualify his daughter above the normal and to ensure her a superior secretarial post, further study in such subjects as English, foreign languages, geography, spelling, arithmetic, or correspondence may be had under the same roof. Once again, the competitive nature of the commercial colleges prevents their issuing figures of attendance. But some estimate, at any rate, of the secondary school leavers who go on to them, may be come by if those undertaking commercial courses in senior technical schools — both boys and girls, but nearly all girls — are deducted from the total of secondary school leavers entering 'educational institutions' (according to the Board of

¹ *vide supra*, p. 111.

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Education's Reports) apart from universities, university training departments, or training colleges. Thus, during 1937-38, 2002 students — almost a quarter of the total — were studying in commercial courses in the senior technical schools, 830 being between the ages of 16 and 17, and another 502 between 17 and 18. Yet these students preparing for office work in the senior technical schools leave unaccounted for well over 4000 girls who, in the previous year, had finished their secondary education in order to seek just such further training. This four to five thousand must have gone into commercial colleges.

In order to draw together the threads of this analysis, inevitably somewhat complex and lengthy, it is convenient to map out a number of typical careers that may be followed by children through various State-aided schools. One or other of these channels, in fact, is normally followed in actual practice by the vast majority. Correspondence courses alone will be left without mention, since they are widely followed in every sort of career and probably in the main merely intensify the training already received, thus making no alteration in the type of prospect justified by each career, but rather improving the chances of the individual's enjoying that prospect to the full. Prospects may be divided into three types, and then correlated with those antecedent careers which, on the whole, offer good expectations of realizing them. The whole may be drawn up in a table which, read from right to left and from the top downwards, passes from the less to the more socially and economically desirable careers, as shown on pp. 120 and 121.

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Now that these various careers have been assigned their relative attractiveness, it is time to correlate with each the total of costs involved. The first important category of these, already hinted at,¹ concerns wages sacrificed by the need to keep a

¹ *vide supra*, p. 91.

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PROSPECTS FOLLOWING TYPES OF STATE
POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION*

<i>Career</i>	CHANCE OF DIRECT ENTRY TO <i>White-Collar Work</i>		'Skilled'† <i>Manual Work</i>
	<i>of Better Standing</i>	<i>of Worse Standing</i>	
Senior School only	—	hardly any	small
Senior School foll. by Part - Time Technical‡	—	hardly any	fair
Senior School foll. by Junior Technical§	hardly any	fair (for girls)	fairly good
Senior School foll. by Junior Technical, and later by Part-Time Technical	hardly any	fair	good
Central School only	small	fairly good	small
L.E.A. Secondary School only	small	fair	fair
L.E.A. Secondary School only¶	very good	---	fair
L.E.A. Secondary School foll. by Senior Technical School	fairly good (mainly girls)	good (mainly girls)	good
L.E.A. Secondary School foll. by Part-Time Technical	fairly good	good	good

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<i>Career</i>	CHANCE OF DIRECT ENTRY TO <i>White-Collar Work</i>		'Skilled'† <i>Manual Work</i>
	<i>of Better Standing</i>	<i>of Worse Standing</i>	
L.E.A. Secondary School foll. by Commercial College	good (mainly girls)	very good (mainly girls)	—
L.E.A. Secondary School¶ foll. by suitable further training	excellent	—	excellent

* The sign — indicates that such a career would hardly be attempted.

† Mainly for boys.

‡ In this Table, Part-Time Technical work is taken to indicate for 1-5 years only.

§ Junior Technical training includes the five types enumerated above (p. 113), especially the junior commercial for girls.

|| For four years only, and without possession of a school certificate.

¶ For five years, and with possession of the school certificate.

child at school. During the last three-quarters of a century, when for an increasing tale of years in the child's life education has become compulsory, children have grown less and less profitable to working-class parents.¹ The period during which offspring must be fully maintained, has steadily lengthened, and the time shortened when they can compensate parents by bringing wages into the home.² A powerful factor reconciling the lower classes to the bearing of large families has thus disappeared. With its disappearance has vanished the family of gargantuan proportions.

¹ *vide supra*, chap. i, pp. 78-80.

² That time, stretching from the date of leaving school for employment as far as the date of leaving the home, has tended to be further shortened from the latter end — not so much through marriage, the time of which has changed very little in these classes, as through the spread of hostels for working boys and girls.

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In moving an amendment to the Education Act of 1870, Lord Shaftesbury said: 'The extent to which persons in London depend on the labour of their children, your Lordships would scarcely be aware of.' If to speak of dependence would be to exaggerate the attitude of most modern parents, yet many a humble family to-day would find so welcome the shillings which their children could earn at the age of 14, that they must weigh very carefully whether the family can afford to allow children to go on even to a council secondary or junior technical school. Of the careers necessitating full-time study enumerated on pp. 120-1, only one — passage through a senior school and no more — involves no sacrifice of wages after the age of 14. It is easy to trace improved prospects to further years of study, hence years of foregoing wages beyond that age — one year for the junior technical and full central school course, two years in order to obtain with average certainty a school certificate in a secondary school, two to three years for those combining a commercial college with secondary education, and three to five for those combining instruction in a senior technical school.

Consequently, there exist the very strongest motives for parents who have their children's welfare at heart to keep them at study for as many years as possible beyond the age of 14. Yet, so heavy is the sacrifice of forgoing wages that many children who have competed successfully for a free place or Special Place are not able to accept the privilege. No figures are published to indicate the extent of this unfortunate necessity for the country as a whole; but Lady Simon, who can speak authoritatively for Manchester, states that one in five of the children who win places in secondary schools in that city do not take them up. She argues that since Manchester has not only a low standard fee (£6), but 100% Special Places, and is in addition generous in its maintenance grants, there is probably even more wasted talent elsewhere.¹ Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, the present Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, has

¹ In an article in *Education*, September 18th, 1936.

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also pointed to the pull of wages in turning the balance against a child's being allowed to proceed to a secondary school. He has drawn attention to Bradford where, at one time, secondary education was entirely free and yet the number refusing free places exceeded those accepting them; a situation which acquired the more seriousness because the refusals comprised one-half of the 200 first in order of merit.¹ An inquiry by the Bradford Education Authority revealed that this lamentably high proportion of refusals was explained by enticingly high wages offered at mills in and round the city.² Much the same problem exists to-day in most districts throughout the country.

The same form of pressure is visible, moreover, among children whose parents have actually been able to send them to secondary schools. The pledge most often required from parents whose children are about to enter, is that school life will not be cut short before the end of the term in which the 16th birthday falls. Judged by this standard, 29% of boys and 31.4% of girls leaving grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales during the school year 1937-38 failed to complete the required course.³ Probably a more realistic criterion, however, for testing this wastage would be the proportion of secondary school pupils who leave before sitting for the school certificate examination. Secondary courses are almost invariably directed toward this end, and to fall short of it introduces major tragedy into a child's career. Precise figures are not available, but estimate shows that candidates for this examination in the year ending at July 1937 represented only about two-thirds (68.1%) of what that contingent from the grant-aided schools might have been if early leavers had not depleted their ranks.⁴ If so, there is a wastage of 31.9% of pupils. Some of these will have fallen out

¹ *Social Progress and Educational Waste* (1926), p. 11.

² LINDSAY, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³ See *Board of Education's Report* for 1938, Table 44.

⁴ i.e., entrants in that year represented only 68.1% of the total entrants to these schools five years earlier.

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of the race for quite other reasons than to take a job for the sake of the money they could earn; but this latter explanation would unquestionably account for the great majority. If proof were needed, it could readily be found in the close correlation between the opportunities available for employment in the labour market and the drain on school numbers. Why, it may be asked, were there as many as 144 pupils aged 16 and over in the grant-aided secondary schools at the beginning of a new school year in October 1931 for every thousand between 11 and 16, and 147 per thousand a year later, whereas there had been only 122 per thousand in 1928 and by 1936 and 1937 the figure had fallen again to 118? The answer is plain: 1931 and 1932 were years during which pupils had exceptional difficulty in finding employment.¹ The Scottish Department of Education, on the other hand, has drawn attention to the inflationary influence upon the numbers withdrawn at early ages from post-primary departments, exerted by greater chance of employment in recent years.²

Perhaps the most striking evidence, however, of the important part which, even to-day, children's wages necessarily play in the case of families represented in grant-aided secondary schools, appears in the fact that children who pay no fees at all are not much more likely to escape early leaving than those for whom full fees are paid. During 1937-38, 31.8% of all boys who left as full fee-payers were in the young ages under 16, but among boys for whom no fees whatever were paid, this percentage was reduced only to 25.8%. The removal of all responsibility for finding school fees is not altogether without its effect in helping parents to resist the temptation to start their children earning; but the relief afforded to them is evidently too small to enable many to put the temptation behind. The negative 'cost' of earnings sacrificed bulks so large, that the net price of this

¹ Compare *Spens Report*, p. 96.

² *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, for the year 1936, p. 13; for the year 1937, p. 14.

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education becomes too intolerable for it to be continued any longer.¹

If many who enter secondary schools are cut off before they can grasp its main prize, the school certificate, far more cannot afford to remain out of employment beyond that date. Where a child has proved more than normally adapted to academic studies, teachers might encourage him to remain at school for two further years with intent to work for the higher school certificate, while his family, if poor, would stand an excellent chance of obtaining enhanced financial assistance from L.E.A.s. Success in the higher certificate or in other competitive examinations open to candidates of about the same standard would unlock the door to the universities and the higher professions. For a youngster with the capacity to join this select group, one which represents the cream of the State post-primary world, the attractiveness of the prospect impelling him to stay on is almost as strong as when he had the school certificate in view. Yet out of the 57,373 boys and girls from grant-aided secondary schools who sat the school certificate in the school year 1934-35, no more than 9894 (17.3%) remained to attempt the higher certificate two years later.² Boys improved slightly on this figure by representing 19.1%, but girls fell even lower to 14.5%. Out of all those leaving in 1936-37, only 5.3% of boys and 2.9% of girls went on to universities or university training departments, while another 1.2% of boys and 5.6% of girls passed to other types of training college. There is no evidence to suggest that a lack of brains, determination, or teaching facilities dissuades secondary scholars from attempting the more

¹ For girls the difference between fee-payers and others is slightly larger – the percentages being 37.3 and 25.8 respectively. Parents, it seems, are rather less willing to make the full sacrifice, including payment of fees, for their daughters than they are for their sons. (All these figures in this section come from the Board's *Report* for 1938, Table 44.)

² These two figures are not strictly comparable, because some candidates for the higher certificate in 1936-37 might have taken the earlier examination in 1933-34 having already tried and failed the second examination in 1935-36. The number of these is not large, however.

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advanced test; they are cut off when the Damocles' sword of economic need delays its descent no longer.

When a child has already reached the stage of having some sort of white-collar occupation in sight, the argument which finally turns the scale in the parental mind against maintaining the child any longer out of remunerative employment is quite obvious. The argument is less obvious when it is the prospect of insecure and blind-alley employment which cuts short schooling at the age of 14 or 15. Yet, so long as the commencing wage is large enough, poor families will send their children into blind alley work at the earliest legal date.¹ A reliable and up-to-date study has shown that the wage-rates which tempt juveniles into unskilled work are not only higher than those paid to apprentices and learners, but in general above comparable rates earned by semi-skilled workers.² Very significant, too, is the fact that the differential advantage commanded by the unskilled is greatest of all in the first year or so after the school-leaving age of 14.³ Naturally, conditions vary in different industries and localities, but for the most part an unskilled juvenile of about 14 years can rely upon earning about 12s. 6d. a week, i.e. some 3s. more than an apprentice could expect at the best. In districts where the highest unskilled rates are in operation the difference may be considerably larger. Furthermore, in many industries and notably engineering, piece work may be such that the unskilled worker can increase his wages over the standard time-rates by some 25%. Such work is

¹ See *Industrial Employment and Unemployment in West Yorkshire*, by HENRY RICHARDSON, p. 112; also the National Juvenile Advisory Committee's *Report*, 1932.

² Relation Between Initial and Maximum Earnings and Differential Fertility of Skilled and Unskilled Wage-Earners, by ENID CHARLES and DAVID MORGAN, in *Political Arithmetic*, 1938. They studied engineering, distribution, building, railways, wood and furniture, tailoring, printing, woollen manufacture, bricks, pottery, glass, chemicals, foods, drinks, and tobacco.

³ It is found that where apprenticeship begins later than the age of 14, unskilled juveniles have an even greater advantage in rates of pay over apprentices. The printing trades and railways service must, however, be exempted from this generalization and those in the text. See CHARLES and MORGAN, *op. cit.*

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rarely permitted to apprentices. Here, then, in the initial wage lies every inducement for poor families to yield to the temptation of unskilled work for their offspring, despite the knowledge that skilled work, if it were offered, would probably ensure higher adult wages and would even more certainly guarantee a security of status which no unskilled labourer can hope to attain.

In these days, however, as apprenticeship declines, the choice is far more likely to rest between the 12s. 6d. or so¹ which a child might earn in unskilled work, and the sacrifice of this money to keep him at school with a view to lifting him out of the lowest grade of workers. If such parents were offered a free place in a secondary school for their boy or girl, therefore, they would still weigh the advantages of this education against its 'cost' of some £32 10s. in the first year, £39 in the second year, and perhaps as much as £50 in the third year. Relate these sums to the pinched circumstances in many families, and it is easy to understand why a high proportion of children in elementary schools never sit for a scholarship examination at all where this latter is voluntary, and why many places are refused where all children automatically undergo the test.

Hardly less important than the negative 'cost' of renouncing wages, is an outlay of a positive nature which every parent must face if his children are to attend secondary schools. This outlay has to be made upon incidental or supplementary expenses, and it will vary, no doubt, from school to school. 'Extras' charged in addition to fees, for example, are usually much heavier in direct-grant, than in most L.E.A.-supported, schools.² As for

¹ At the worst, the wage may drop to less than this, particularly in distribution. To the very poorest of all, however, even a meagre 5s. or so may nevertheless be too welcome for parents to be in a position to ignore the time when the youngster will be able to bring it home. At the other extreme, boys of 14 in Morris Motors, can earn 18s. 4d. a week, or 16s. 4d. in a Birmingham engineering firm. At age 16, a navvy in the building trades in London earns 16s. a week more than a learner.

² The receipt of grants from public funds, however, sets certain restrictions upon such 'extras': see *Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1935, No. 679, for secondary schools. About a half of direct-grant secondary schools include textbooks in the normal school fee.

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the latter, in about 40% of establishments (42.7% according to 220 prospectuses of council secondary schools) fees will not include the textbooks which must be used. Buying these will add between £1 and £2 5s. to the annual school bill. School uniforms, equipment and subscriptions may be expected to add at least another £3 10s.; and pocket-money must be found. According to the prospectus of a county school in Yorkshire the supplementary annual cost of maintaining a pupil in the school was estimated at:

	<i>Girl</i>			<i>Boy</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
School books ¹		15	0		15	0
Mathematical instruments, fountain pen, school satchel, etc.		7	6		7	6
Girls' hats (one winter and one summer hat for every 2 years)		7	6		—	
Boys' caps (3 caps at 4s. each for every 2 years)		—			6	0
Ties (boys, 2 per year; girls, 1)		2	0		4	0
Plimsolls		12	0		12	0
Blazer (should last 1½ to 2 years, 15s. to 25s.)		15	0		15	0
Tunic (one per annum)	1	0	0		—	
Terminal subscription (games, library, magazine, etc., 3s. 6d. per term)		10	6		10	6
	£4	9	6	£3	10	0

It is notable that games outfits and requisites are not included here. For a boy, football boots alone will cost upwards of a half guinea and they must be renewed from time to time. The rest of his outfit for the field could hardly be bought under ten shillings a year. In the summer, cricket flannels and probably

¹ Most estimates for school books are higher than this.

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a bat, too, can scarcely be denied and will mean the other half of a pound note. For girls, a hockey stick and sweater adding perhaps five shillings to the winter's bill, and, even more important, tennis racket and balls for summer use, if not suitable white clothes, must be provided. Another ten shillings a year is probably the minimum these latter can involve. For the more athletically-minded these figures would probably be very low, while members of school teams — and what boy or girl would not feel mortified to have to refuse such membership on account of poverty? — must be provided with a part, if not the whole, of travelling expenses — possibly another £1 or more a year. In addition to all these direct costs, however, travelling expenses and a midday meal at school costing eightpence to one shilling may be unavoidable. Residents outside the immediate vicinity of towns and cities have almost always to recognize such a necessity.

These incidental expenditures have been mentioned as applying to secondary schools. A comparable list, perhaps containing fewer items and at a lower rate of outlay, must nevertheless be considered by parents who do not look so high as a secondary school, but still feel that an effort must be made to give their children another year or two of schooling beyond the age of 13. Some element of this cost, then, must be added to the normal career in central and technical schools.

Finally, the item of fees must be added to arrive at total cost. It has already been mentioned¹ that those attending senior and central schools pay no fees at all, while certain children who have won Special Places in secondary schools, and their equivalent in junior technical institutions, are exempt if their families' income can pass a means test. For the rest, prior to the change in the Board of Education's policy during the Great Depression² the junior technical schools had charged fees varying very widely from place to place — all the way from nothing

¹ *vide supra*, p. 99.

² *vide supra*, p. 97.

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at all to £9 per annum.¹ After 1933, they were expected to fall within the limits of three to six guineas.

Fees charged by secondary schools, both because they concern such vastly greater numbers and because more information is available about them, deserve a more detailed investigation. Just before the Great War the average figure received in fees from the public on behalf of scholars² in aided secondary schools stood at £5 a year; but thereafter it began to creep upwards. In 1921 it had reached the figure of £6 4s. od., a year later £7, in 1923 £7 15s. od., and by 1925 £8 1s. od. During this period the most notable change taking place in the composition of that group of families which used the secondary schools was the increasing proportion of wage-earning families.³ In other words, the rising fees were being felt as a heavy burden by more families each year, despite an increase of some 12% in real wages between 1914 and 1925.⁴ By this time certain L.E.A.s closely in touch with local feeling, became sensitive to the growing oppressiveness of this situation, and fees began to be reduced. Between 1925-26 and 1932-33 the general average paid fell by more than £1; furthermore, the proportion of secondary schools offering 100% free places swelled, during the 12 years following the Great War, from 5% to 17.2% in

¹ Some of these schools were visited by His Majesty's Inspectors after 1933, just when the revision of fees was being effected. 'Some of the schools were already bringing their fees into line with the principles indicated by the Board, but others had not yet begun to do so . . . Six schools were free; 18 had fees ranging in seven steps up to £6; 19 charged £6; 8 charged £6 6s.; two charged £6 15s.; and one £9, per annum. Exactly half the schools charged £3 3s. or less.' *Review of Junior Technical Schools, op. cit.*

² Not the announced full fee.

³ See below, pp. 154-55.

⁴ i.e., the index of average money wages expressed as a percentage of the cost of living index for the same year had increased from 100 in 1914 to 112 in 1925. (See BOWLEY, *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860*, Table 7, page 30.) Bowley, it is true, points to the numerous qualifications with which this index must be used for giving Real Wages, but even if these latter did in fact rise rather more than the 12% indicated, there is no doubt that they did not rise sufficiently during these 11 years to keep pace with increases in fees.

A comparison of Bowley's index of 'real wages' with an index of the average fees paid in aided secondary schools is significant in this respect, especially if the fees also are expressed as percentages of their level immediately pre-War. It

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Wales, and from 1.6% to 4.3% in England. The early Nineteen Thirties found published fees in the L.E.A. secondary schools averaging no higher than £2 11s. 9d. in the county boroughs of Wales, £4 9s. od. in the Principality as a whole, £8 13s. od. in England's seven northern counties, £13 1s. od. in the region of the South-East, and £10 14s. od. for England as a whole.¹

¹ See Table F. The Regions taken here are those defined by the Registrar General from a grouping of the counties of England – designed to secure 'a greater homogeneity in the character of the sectional peoples'. These regions are NORTH 1 (Durham and Northumberland), NORTH 2 (Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire – East and North Ridings), NORTH 3 (Yorkshire – West Riding), NORTH 4 (Cheshire and Lancashire), MIDLANDS 1 (West) (Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire), MIDLANDS 2 (East) (Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire), EAST (Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Rutland and Suffolk), SOUTH-EAST (Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Sussex), SOUTH-WEST (Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somerset, Wiltshire) and LONDON. The last is best taken separately in view of the large numbers always involved and unique conditions usually existing there. The North is sometimes regarded as one entire region, also the Midlands.

will be noticed that the index of fees is based upon average receipts for fees from the public, not upon full announced fees.

Year	'Real Wages' 1914 = 100	School Year	Average Amounts Paid in Fees by Pupils in Grant-aided Secondary Schools in England and Wales
			1912-13 = 100
1914	100	1912-13	100
1924	111	1923-4	158
1925	112	1924-5	161
1926	113	1925-6	159
1927	117	1926-7	156
1928	117	1927-8	154
1929	118	1928-9	148
1930	122	1929-30	146
1931	129	1930-1	139
1932	129	1931-2	136
1933	131	1932-3	134
1934	132	1933-4	136
1935	132	1934-5	139
1936	134	1935-6	142
		1936-7	143

Clearly, ever since the War, secondary school fees have absorbed a larger proportion of the wage-earners' income than they did before, the increase being particularly notable in the middle Twenties.

(The above statistics are taken from Bowley as already described, and for fees from the *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom* 1934 and 1937.)

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The influence of the Scottish liberal tradition in education has not, therefore, been entirely prevented from crossing the Border.

At this stage, however, the whole situation was destined for a change under the Board's new policy for the business depression.¹ Free were to be converted into Special Places; fees were to be raised generally to 15 guineas a year, and 9 guineas was to compose the standard minimum. But the capacity to bear these sudden increases was bound to vary, since the depression was unevenly spread over the country. Thus, whereas the North and Midlands respectively displayed figures of unemployment per 1000 of the occupied population in the 1931 census at 151 and 109 and possessed only 40 and 39 engaged in such relatively remunerative work as the professions and public administration, the regions of the South-East and South-West (not including London) had been able to keep their unemployment respectively down to 68 and 71 while their professional men and civil servants formed as large a proportion as 83 and 89. Consequently, the Board had to temper its new and drastic policy to regional weaknesses. According to its Report of 1932, 'in a few poor districts a lower figure [than 9 guineas] has been adopted, and in one or two others where the schools were free and where it was represented that a sudden rise from nil to 9 guineas would involve too large a break with existing conditions, the Board have agreed to a fee of 6 guineas on the understanding that the question of an increase to not less than 9 guineas to come into force not later than the beginning of the school year 1936-7 will be considered.'² The fees were then raised as from April 1st, 1933. Thus, schools receiving their grant from local authorities began to charge £7 9s. od. in Wales, and £12 4s. od. in England, the North still

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 97-98.

² This requirement can hardly have been enforced, however, since in March 1937, i.e. during the school year 1936-37, 21.4% of the grant-aided schools in England and 85% of those in Wales still charged a standard fee of less than 9 guineas. See the Board's *Report* for 1937, Table 37.

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being lowest with an average fee of £10 2s. od., and the South-East highest at £15 1s. od.¹ In direct-grant schools at that time, fees stood at about £20. From the date of the new policy onwards, fees in L.E.A. schools rose on an average almost twice as fast as real wages.²

Charges for supplementary training can be dismissed more shortly. Part-time technical courses cost from 10s. to 15s. in the first session and rise to £1 5s. od. or £1 10s. od. in the fourth. As work is pursued to even more advanced or specialized stages, charges continue to increase, e.g. for a building institute course fees might amount to £3 a session, and to £5 a session for the sanitary inspector's course. Fees exacted for correspondence courses, on the other hand, vary considerably from school to school. The International Correspondence Schools, for example, sets its minimum at £4 for English or book-keeping, its maximum at £32 for engineering courses — sums which cover the cost of the textbooks that must be used. When they enrol, students are asked to sign a form agreeing to undertake the complete course, but they are never expected to pay their fees in a lump sum. They may pay by instalments. Costs per term or per year are very difficult to find in a system such as this, which boasts above all its adaptability to individual needs in determining the rate for completion of the course. It is consequently almost impossible to make any comparison of costs in correspondence and technical evening schools. This much at least is clear, however, that whereas the latter being financed by State funds will never charge students the full cost of their education, the former are entirely privately owned and operated for profit. Furthermore, since practical training must be entirely lacking from correspondence courses, in many

¹ See Table F. In Scotland at a comparable time, out of 252 schools conducted under the Secondary Schools (Scotland) Regulations, only 37 charged any fee whatever in senior departments. The average fee there was £9 15s. od. If four schools in Edinburgh (where the fee was 19 guineas), one in Glasgow (where the fee was £19 13s. od.), and one in Dundee (where the fee was £18 os. od.) are excluded, the remaining 31 charged an average fee of £7 17s. od.

² See index above, p. 130, note 4.

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subjects, these latter can offer only a fraction of what would be included in a similar course in a technical school.

Finally, in the senior technical schools fees of £10 to £15 are required, but, just as part-time study which leads to a successful conclusion is often partly financed by employers, so the L.E.A. offers assistance to students at the senior technical school under much the same means test as that used for the secondary schools. Such relief, however, is not forthcoming for the many girls, and few boys, who terminate their education in private commercial colleges. Pitman's charge, for a minimum commercial course which includes no general or language studies, is 17 guineas a year, payable in advance. Textbooks and stationery — a far from negligible item in such instruction — must be added; a study of the further subjects needed to qualify a girl for superior secretarial work¹ would raise the annual expenditure to 19 guineas, and to 22 if languages were combined. Some commercial courses, it is true, are rather less expensive than this; but unless the risk is to be taken of sending a girl to a school in which local business men have no confidence, the price can seldom be reduced as low as fees in State-aided secondary and senior technical schools. In short, contrary to much current opinion, the parent who would make sure that his daughter was distinguished in her work from the mass of elementary school leavers and especially from those who might qualify as typists, would probably have to spend more upon her education than upon his son's in these middle 'teen years. Nor would the balance be restored later, since his son would himself be able to contribute towards the cost of evening classes or his correspondence course.

The total 'costs' of post-primary education, now enumerated, can be best summed up by assigning to each of the careers, which were used on pp. 120-1 above as typical, those categories of outlay imputable to it. In the following table, careers are drawn up in precisely the same order as before; thus, if read down the

¹ *vide supra*, p. 118.

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ANNUAL 'COST' OF TYPES OF POST-PRIMARY STATE EDUCATION¹

<i>Career</i>	<i>Estimate of Wages Foregone</i>	<i>Fees</i>	<i>Estimate of Supplementary Outlay</i>
Senior School only	—	—	10s. to £1 (× 3)
Senior School foll. by Part-Time Technical (1-5 years)	—	10s. to £5 (× 1-5)	10s. to £2 (× 1-5)
Senior School foll. by Junior Technical; ²	£33 (× 1)	£3-6 (× 2)	£1-3 (× 2)
Senior School foll. by Junior Technical; ² and later by Part-Time Technical (1-5 years)	—	10s. to £5 (× 1-5)	10s. to £2 (× 1-5)
Central School only	£33 (× 1)	—	£2-4 (× 4)
L.E.A. ³ Secondary School only (4 years) ⁴	£33 (× 1)	£7-16. (× 4)	£4-5 (× 4)
L.E.A. Secondary School only (5 years) ⁵	£36 (× 2)	£7-16. (× 5)	£4-5 (× 5)
L.E.A. Secondary School (4 years) ⁴ foll. by Senior Technical School	£50 (× 2-3)	£10-15 (× 2-3)	£4-5 (× 2-3)
L.E.A. Secondary School (4 years) foll. by Part-Time Technical (1-5 years)	—	10s. to £5 (× 1-5)	10s. to £2 (× 1-5)
L.E.A. Secondary School (4 years) foll. by Commercial College	£39 (× 1)	£18-23 (× 1)	£1-3 (× 1)

¹ Where a career consists of component parts, the annual 'costs' itemized against that career refer only to the last part mentioned. To find the total 'cost' of the career, it is, of course, necessary to add in the 'costs' involved in earlier parts. The probable number of years involved are indicated in brackets.

² Junior technical is to be taken to include the 5 types enumerated above (p. 113), especially junior commercial for girls.

³ In direct-grant schools fees would rise to about £20 on the average and supplementary outlay involve between £5 and £10.

⁴ Without the possession of a school certificate.

⁵ With the possession of a school certificate.

page, they trace steadily improving prospects, which, it becomes very evident, must be correlated with total 'costs' rising as steadily. The figures for each type of expenditure are quoted at their annual amount, and the number of years by which they must, on an average, be multiplied to arrive at the total is added. The sacrifice of wages is calculated from the

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date when a child may legally be put out to work. Supplementary outlay is set at a low, average figure, which is likely to be exceeded by very many parents and does not in any case include such things as the outlay on a child's food and care in the home.

§4 FACTORS MODIFYING COSTS

A. *Uneven Provision of Places*

By themselves, however, crude 'costs' of education only compose part of the picture. As they bear upon the individual parent their impact is modified in two directions: first, their burden is aggravated by the fact that the various districts of the country are unevenly served by the State post-primary system. Thus, in some districts the ambitious but indigent family can satisfy its desire for a training somewhat above the ordinary by dispatching the children to a junior technical school, or to a central establishment of good standing. Elsewhere, there are no such schools available;¹ consequently, similarly-placed parents must either be content with a humble training in the senior school or cut down their expenditure sufficiently to finance a secondary education for their offspring, either in a State-aided school or else entirely outside the State system in some private institution. Such a decision, with its accompanying endangerment of the family's fertility, is likely to be hastened in those regions where even the senior school has not yet been created, and the only alternative to the secondary school is languishing, under the stagnation of a syllabus unadapted to the proper needs of the adolescent, in the upper forms of an unreorganized elementary establishment. In March 1938, no less than 36.5% of all our children within the State system over the age of 11, i.e. at the post-primary stage,

¹ Cornwall, e.g., possesses no central school. *vide supra*, p. 107.

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and not fortunate enough to be in secondary schools, were unable to find a place except in an unreorganized elementary school — a figure swollen first by the rural districts (70.4% in contrast to the 29.8% in urban districts) and, in the second place, by those establishments for which such bodies as the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church are responsible. Thus, while in all areas the figure for the council schools stood merely at 25.2%, that for the Church of England was as high as 67.2%, and for the Roman Church higher still at 68.7%.¹

Junior technical schools are far from common.² In England, for example, thirteen counties have none at all, and nine other counties have only one school each,³ while out of 121 urban centres each with a population over 50,000, 62 can be found which lack any provision for this type of education — 22 of them with populations over 100,000. 'In the case of such counties as Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland and Westmorland, this is only to be expected, owing to their agricultural character and small population. But Bedfordshire has 11,000 adolescents (of 13-18 years) in urban centres, Berkshire 14,000, Lincolnshire 33,000, and yet not a single junior technical

¹ The difficulty of collecting enough children in one place to form a separate senior school largely accounts for the backwardness of rural areas. As for the denominational schools, the religious bodies often obstruct reorganization by refusing to allow their pupils to proceed to undenominational senior schools, and yet making no plans of their own. In Wales, the reorganization of elementary schools has been much slower, both because of 'apprehension lest the status and efficiency of the Intermediate School may suffer through the proximity' of a new senior school (*Spens Report, op. cit.*, p. 345), and because the egalitarian-minded Welsh believe that every child should be enabled to go on to a secondary school. Finally, in 1932 the Board of Education withdrew its special grant of 50% towards capital expenses for building new senior and central schools. When restored the grant was cut down to 20%.

² For numbers of schools see p. 113 above.

³ HANS, *Year Book of Education*, 1939, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, Technical and Vocational Education. This author, moreover, includes with junior technical schools places of nautical training — of which there are 6 — with 944 pupils during 1935-36, or 822 during 1936-37, and which provide a preparation for employment at sea together with continued general education. Without them at least no other county, viz. Cheshire, would have no junior technical school.

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school. Since, however, these schools not only prepare for specific technical vocations, which might be unnecessary in these particular counties, but also give a general technical education for boys, domestic training for girls and also commercial education for both sexes, the absence of these schools can be ascribed to a defect in organization.¹ Seventy-seven out of the 197 schools in England are found in London and the south-eastern counties. In Wales the provision lags even further behind, once more, no doubt, on account of its greater provision for secondary education. Consequently, whereas in 1937-38 about 14 in every hundred children leaving the elementary schools throughout England and Wales proceeded to the grant-aided secondary schools, no more than two or three entered a junior technical school.² Similarly, within the latter schools themselves were found only about 1.6% of the national aggregate of boys and .53% of girls between the ages of 13 and 15, in contrast with 12.9% and 11.5% respectively in the grant-aided secondary schools between these ages.

Even where schools exist, however, some parents allow the opportunity to slip past their children out of sheer ignorance. They have remained quite unaware of the existence of these establishments, and neither schools nor local authorities have made much attempt to enlighten them. In many areas, however, a movement is now afoot to pierce the obscurity in which these schools have been shrouded. Parents are informed of the facilities they offer and sometimes children in the elementary school are automatically examined for admission to the junior

¹ HANS, *ibid.* The populations given in the counties are those in the ages 8-13 at the census of 1931. These same figures could naturally only give the populations in each county between the ages of 13-18 in 1936 (i.e. 5 years later) if there were neither mortality nor considerable migration from county to county to be allowed for. The figures given by Hans for adolescents aged 13-18 may therefore be very far from the truth, but this will not vitiate the author's general conclusions. Even if as many as 5000 should be deducted from each figure given to obtain the true number of adolescents, it would still remain true that the provision of junior technical schools is astonishingly small.

² These figures for junior technical schools (taken from the Board's *Report*) include also numbers going to schools of nautical training.

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technical, just as they were two years earlier for the secondary and central, schools. The notice of a child's qualification for admission to the technical school, whether as a fee-payer or Special Place pupil, will quite often come as the first intimation to a parent of this 'second chance'. Authorities are beginning to realize that, unless more publicity is given to these junior technical schools, they will continue to fall short of attracting many of the more intelligent among those left in the elementary schools until the age of 13. To adjust this has become especially necessary since, with the steady advance of central and senior schools in addition to secondary, the most intelligent children of all are in general earmarked two years before the junior technical schools can begin to stake out a claim. Originally, when these latter schools were first established, the general break at eleven plus was unknown. They therefore attracted talent which would be lost to them to-day. Since the rise of the secondary school, times have changed and the junior technical school calls for a new recognition.

Finally, the supply of Special Places in secondary schools is by no means evenly distributed throughout the country. It has already been shown that some advance had been made, in years subsequent to the Great War, towards the ideal enunciated in 1907 — free secondary education for all those capable of profiting by it.¹ The number of free places in L.E.A. secondary establishments was gradually being extended, while the band of generous schools all of whose places were offered free was slowly adding to its ranks. When, in 1933, the new policy of Special Places was inaugurated, the Special were made to correspond roughly, in L.E.A. institutions, to the previous free places. They were not to embrace more than half the admissions of the year before. Yet as late as March 31st, 1936, there were still, in defiance of this rule, 90.2% of aided schools in Wales and 41.3% in England whose Special Places outnumbered the prescribed allowance. The exception had become the rule,

¹ *vide supra*, p. 97.

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and in May 1936, the old upper limit was removed.¹ The trend towards greater liberality was thus confirmed, and by March 31st, 1937, 11 out of the 17 Welsh authorities had transformed all the vacancies in their secondary schools into Special Places (about 60% of Welsh secondary schools being thus embraced), while in England there existed about 17% such schools including the total complement of four counties (Durham, Essex, Middlesex and Wiltshire) and five large urban centres (Birmingham, Bradford, East Ham, Manchester and Sheffield).

These figures unfortunately embrace both L.E.A. schools and also those which receive a grant direct from the Board of Education. As the latter now issues its statistics, it is impossible to distinguish the two categories of school for this purpose. But since only some 40 out of the 240 directly-aided establishments² responded, in 1933, to the Board's invitation to convert the free places they offered into Special Places, the great majority clings to its aristocratic traditions by which scholarship alone, and not the family income when subjected to a means test, decides the value of awards. To all intents and purposes, then, the direct-grant schools still retain a free place system, and none of them is likely to offer all places free. Hence, the 299 establishments enumerated at the above date by the Board as offering 100% 'Special Places or Free Places'³ will almost certainly refer to L.E.A. schools.

The picture that presents itself, then, is that the distribution of Special Places and of fee-paying places in L.E.A. and in direct-grant schools varies from area to area of the country.

¹ See Statutory Rules and Orders; *Secondary Schools Amending Regulations* No. 1, 1936.

² How the provision of direct-grant schools varies over the country can be seen from the proportion to be found in them of all grant-aided secondary pupils – in March, 1936, according to figures kindly supplied by the Board, as many as 30.7% in the district of North 4, only 11.9% in Midlands 1 (in London only 13%), and as low as 4.7% in Wales. The average for England and Wales amounted to 17.3%.

³ See *Board of Education's Report*, 1937, Table 36.

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Consequently, if a child comes out, on the list of competitors in the Special Place examination, too low to be allotted a Special Place, his parents will have to be prepared, should the neighbouring L.E.A. schools have made all their vacancies Special Places, to find relatively high fees for him in a direct-grant establishment, or, if such is not at hand, outside the State secondary system altogether. Families similarly placed, but living in districts where the 100% Special Place system had not been instituted, would be able to send their offspring, at lower rates, to be 'ordinary' pupils in a L.E.A. school. Again, there are certain families which might be called in a financial sense marginal, and whose children are on the intellectual margin; in areas where the L.E.A.s provide relatively few Special Places in their schools, these families might find their children, under the intensified competition for the Places, out of the running for one, and might then, by dint of strict economies, pay for them as 'ordinary' pupils in the L.E.A.'s schools. Elsewhere, where the supply of Places was more abundant, their children might just succeed in winning one, and the parents would not have to economize, at any rate, to the same degree but would be granted partial or full remission of fees. So do more or less favourable circumstances in their neighbouring schools alter 'costs' as they have to be met by many families of parallel economic status, if ambitions for the children's secondary education are not to be sacrificed.

It may seem strange that in days when the Special Place examination is supposed to play St. Peter at the gateway of State post-primary education, so much freedom is permitted parents to pay for their children in secondary schools if, according to the test of ability, they would be better off elsewhere and may be keeping more suitable scholars out. In fact, there can only be, under present conditions, a rigid allocation of places by ability if children come from families too poor to face the total costs involved in secondary education. The unequal incidence of the examination upon different income-groups — to

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borrow a phrase from the language of taxation — is exaggerated because the offspring of relatively wealthy parents may win a free place in a direct-grant school, or a Special Place in a L.E.A. school, with the result that the extent of opportunity of secondary education open to poor children is whittled down by the children of parents who could afford to pay fees. On the other hand, there may be some educational advantage in the possibility at least of some children ignoring the dictates of the examination. The view of the Spens Committee on the Special Place examination and other supplementary tests now used in connection with it was very clear: 'all the evidence that we have heard on the existing methods of selection for one or other type of school confirms us in our opinion that the line as drawn at present is always artificial and often mistaken.'¹ Even when it seems plain that a child has been wrongly placed as a result of the examination papers, he is very rarely shifted to another school — especially where such a shift would involve 'degradation' from a secondary to a central, or from a central to a senior, school. Perhaps, therefore, the main importance of the examination is that, so long as the demand on the part of poor families for inexpensive places in secondary schools remains, as it is to-day, so far in excess of the supply provided, it must have the effect of a highly competitive, scholarship examination upon those families and their finances. If they are resolutely set upon furnishing their child with an opportunity of white-collar employment, and if they have the will and the capacity to make the effort, they will plan their family expenditure, one of the main determinants of which is the number of children, in such a way that even if their child is debarred from a Special Place by bad luck or unsuitable talent, there will be sufficient money over to pay for his training. The occupation of certain Special Places by those from comfortably-off families merely tends to confirm such a family policy.²

¹ See *Spens Report, op. cit.*, p. 140.

² Of recent years 1 in 10 Places were allotted to families qualifying for no fee-exemption whatever.

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B. *Maintenance Allowances and Remission of Fees*

Uneven distribution of educational facilities, then, whose full supply remains in any case well below the level of demand, must introduce an influence tending to aggravate the burden of crude costs. Public assistance, on the other hand, granted by L.E.A.s first towards offsetting part or total fees and next by way of allowance towards maintaining a child out of employment, represents a weight in the opposite scale. It relieves the burden of outlay upon the individual family. That these awards of assistance were based on a means test and introduced with the Special Place system, has already been indicated.¹ What, then, of the 200 direct-grant secondary schools which have opted to retain their traditional offer of free places?² No means test, of course, is applied to the winners of their scholarships; of these the value may amount only to the annual fees, or may, in the wealthier establishments, include a surplus up to £20 which is handed over in cash to the holder and consequently amounts to a maintenance grant. The picture is further complicated by the fact that some children, who sit the Special Place examination, qualify for a secondary education, and claim awards from their L.E.A.s towards offsetting fees and perhaps towards maintenance, are allowed, if their parents feel strongly on the matter, to pursue their training in a direct-grant school, yet to enjoy the L.E.A. award at the same time.³ Thus, awards determined by a means test and earned in the Special Place examination are so held, and the money so expended by the L.E.A., that they finance a free place in a school which depends rather upon the Board of Education than upon the L.E.A.

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 97 and 98.

² *vide supra*, p. 140.

³ In 1935-36, some 5.6% of all L.E.A. secondary awards were held in direct-grant schools. The attitude of individual L.E.A.s varies widely, according to the Board. Some allow complete freedom of choice of secondary school, as in London; others restrict choice to certain districts or schools. Generally speaking, however, most L.E.A.s are ready to go some distance towards meeting parents' wishes, especially where definite reasons, such as religious, can be brought.

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Circular 1421 from the Board of Education described in 1933 the two types of scale which could be used to define eligibility for assistance.¹ The first would depend solely upon the mean income per head of all members of the family, allowing for deduction of rent and rates. The award for a child would be graduated accordingly, from full fees and maximum maintenance allowance in money given to the most needy, down to a partial exemption, as mean income increased, of fees only. It transpired that relatively few authorities chose this method for calculating need — less than 10% of the total. On the average, they allowed free tuition when the mean income did not exceed a guinea a head per week, and granted in addition other forms of assistance when the mean income dropped 4s., more still for lower figures. Next, remission of part of the fee, from $\frac{3}{4}$ to a $\frac{1}{4}$, was usually allowed on incomes showing a mean value up to £1 12s. 6d. for each member of the family.

The second method — chosen by nine-tenths of authorities — used as a joint basis of calculation the gross income of both parents and the number of dependent children including all engaged in full-time education. The income limits for a family with only one child formed the basis of calculation. With the exception of one or two authorities who are providing for schools with fees above the stipulated 15 guineas, and excepting London where fees are in any case above the normal, the maximum income on which such a family could qualify for exemption from all tuition fees varied from £3 10s. od. to £5 a week, with an average of £4 8s. 3d. Below this, money allowances, books, meals and other forms of assistance would be added; above it, parents would be asked to pay a part of the fees themselves — as the parents' income increased, a quarter, a half, and then three-quarters, until at last full fees, would be demanded. As a rule, the authorities allowed £1 10s. od. above

¹ The following analysis is confined to L.E.A. secondary schools. Maintenance grants may be made to pupils in central and junior technical schools on similar principles.

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the limit for complete exemption of fees before full fees had to be paid. The next step in this calculation was to make allowance for other dependent children by earmarking something from the total income for each one. In the great majority of cases these income deductions amounted to 10s. a week per child, but there were five authorities giving a more generous 15s.; while Kent allowed £40 a year and London £50. In contrast, only £15 a year was allotted in one area.¹

Upon entry to the school and until a child is 14, the maximum value of a maintenance allowance (M) is normally very small. Under some authorities M would not appear anywhere in that section of the scale which covers children who must compulsorily stay at school. Some small assistance towards purchasing books and perhaps a child's initial outfit for school is awarded only in cases of special hardship. In other areas where maintenance is normally found in scales which apply to children of any age, the full value will not exceed £2 or so a year until after the 14th birthday. From that date, maintenance is more generally awarded and its value becomes more substantial. Here it is

¹ Authorities usually summarized these various conditions in tabular form. A typical scale follows:

<i>Gross Income of Parents not exceeding weekly</i>	<i>Limit of Aid to be given where the number of dependent children is</i>			
	¹	²	³	⁴
£3	F & M	F & M	F & M	F & M
£3½	F & ½M	F & M	F & M	F & M
£4	F	F & ½M	F & M	F & M
£4½	¾F	F	F & ½M	F & M
£5	½F	¾F	F	F & ½M
£5½	¼F	½F	¾F	F
£6	—	¼F	½F	¾F
£6½	—	—	¼F	½F
£7	—	—	—	¼F

F represents the full fee and M the maximum amount of maintenance paid by the authority. A family of one child is here totally exempted from fees as long as the parents' joint incomes do not exceed £4, and 10s. a week is deducted from the income for each additional dependent child. Where the income for total exemption is higher, the figures in the first column would all be one place or more higher in the scale, and where the income deduction for each extra child is larger, e.g. 15s., these figures for income in the first column would mount by more than 10s. at each step, e.g. by 15s.

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safe to assign £4 as a minimum value, likely more often to rise to £10 and in exceptional circumstances even beyond. The Board of Education issues no statistics of the awards made by the various L.E.A.s to pupils under and over the age of 14; instead, it groups together as 'junior awards' all assistance to children who have not yet sat the school certificate. During the school year 1935-36, 230,194 pupils in secondary schools of England and Wales held such junior awards from L.E.A.s, and of these 78,253 or 34% had secured remissions of all fees together with a maintenance allowance amounting on an average to £5 16s. od.¹

England and Wales, however, were following very different policies. In Wales some three-quarters of all places in L.E.A. schools carried with them junior awards, in England little more than a half, in London still less.² On the other hand, the proportion of Welsh awards affording the maximum benefit of full fees and maintenance was as low as 20.3%, compared with 36.6% for all England and 60.7% for London. The conclusion flowing from these two sets of facts is that England confers maximum assistance on a slightly higher fraction (a little over 20%) of all eligible pupils, than Wales.³ Wales still cherishes her tradition of free secondary education for all; hence, her proportion of Special Places awarded, as already mentioned, is far above England's⁴ and, with her low fees, the need to add maintenance grants much less widespread. The amount of main-

¹ Here, and throughout the remainder of this section on remissions and maintenance, figures for 1935-36 have to be used, since these, in the detail required for this analysis, are the latest obtained by kind permission from the files of the Board of Education. Some of the figures can be found in later published material e.g., for the year 1937-38 240,442 pupils in secondary schools held junior awards, of whom 85,252 or 35.5% had secured remission of all fees together with a maintenance allowance amounting on an average to £5 15s. 2d. The vital relations, in other words, have not changed much over the last few years.

² It is regrettable that published statistics make it impossible to give more precise figures than these. The aggregate of L.E.A. awards alone are published, whereas to arrive at a precise percentage it is necessary to know the number of them held only in L.E.A. schools. *vide supra*, p. 143.

³ By eligible pupils are meant those reading for the school certificate.

⁴ *vide supra*, p. 140.

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tenance paid showed wide differences, the English payment displaying a mean of £6, the Metropolitan one of £10 8s. od., and the Welsh one of £3 12s. od. Furthermore, if Wales appears less generous in the value of her money aids to maintenance, it must be remembered that parents find the cost of keeping a child at many Welsh secondary schools much lower than in English. There can be small doubt that corresponding distress is not necessarily treated less liberally in the Principality.

In general, junior awards of assistance, whether merely fee-cancelling or whether also supplemented by money grants, end automatically about the age of 16. An intermediate scale of awards then replaces the junior, but beneficiaries under the latter must not assume that they will *ipso facto* pass to the former. Headmasters or headmistresses must be satisfied that pupils are capable of advancing to higher work; that is, the school certificate examination must have been successfully passed at a certain standard. Other criteria, too, are occasionally used. In addition, the parent must be prepared to keep his child at school for the full duration of an advanced course following this examination — for two years at least. Any pupil for whom these two conditions are satisfied, however, whatever his previous status in the school, is usually eligible for consideration under the new scale. These intermediate awards, like the junior, confer the privilege either of free tuition together with a maintenance grant or else of remission of fees alone. Financial need for one or other type of assistance must first be established. The basis upon which it is assessed usually appears again in the form of a tabulated scale similar in form to the junior scale, but at this stage, although the allowance for each additional dependent child remains unchanged, the income limits for receiving various degrees of assistance are considerably raised, seldom by less than £1 a week and sometimes by as much as £2 or more. Moreover, the maximum value of maintenance allowances is in most cases at least double that under all junior awards. In 1935-36, it reached £13 14s. od. in England and Wales as a

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whole, but the two countries must be distinguished as before, and along exactly similar lines.

Wales not only gives these intermediate awards to virtually all those pursuing advanced courses beyond the school certificate examination, but extends them somewhat to include others not quite at that stage.¹ Thus the number of intermediate awards exceeded in this same school year the total number of Welsh scholars at the advanced stage, whereas in London they composed no more than 60% of this latter group, and in all England only about one-third. Here, as among her younger pupils, Wales spreads a wide net — now large enough to contain all — and then selects rather carefully those for whom maintenance must be added to free tuition. Consequently, the 21.5% chosen looks insignificant compared with the corresponding fraction across the border. In London, intermediate awards augmented by aids to maintenance amounted to 86.3% of intermediate awards as a whole; for the country in its entirety the proportion was 70.7%. What is important, however, is the widespread nature of the original allocation of awards in Wales; hence, even after careful sifting among these, recipients of full fee and maintenance grants turned out to be still almost as numerous in relation to the total relevant population as they did in English schools. In England that proportion amounted

¹ In the Principality, intermediate awards are frequently given at the age of 16, irrespective of status in the school at that time. Such a policy is rendered necessary because when they enter secondary schools, pupils are generally a year older than in England. Comparison of the age of admission to secondary schools in England and Wales during the school year 1937-38, shows (see the Board's *Report for 1938*, Table 42):

<i>Age of admission</i>	<i>Percentage of total admissions in</i>	
	WALES	ENGLAND
Under 10 years	0.5	12.1
Between 10 and 11	5.1	16.1
„ 11 and 12	39.6	55.3
„ 12 and 13	44.8	11.0
„ 13 and 14	7.3	2.9
Over 14 years	2.7	2.6

A corresponding difference exists therefore between the ages for sitting school certificate. 140.

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to about a quarter, in Wales to rather more than a fifth.¹ If London is taken alone, the proportion now rises as high as one-half. Even for junior children, where these allowances are always less important since parents must in any case keep their children at school throughout most of this stage, London allows £10 8s. od. on the average, in comparison with £5 6s. od. in the rest of England or £3 12s. od. in Wales. At the intermediate stage while the average grant in Wales rises only to £6 5s. od. and that in England outside London to £11 14s. od., the L.C.C. pays as much as £25 14s. od. It is not difficult to discover why maintenance allowances play so large a part in London, especially for its senior pupils, nor why their value is above that in other areas. First, and most important, since the cost of living in the Metropolis is higher than elsewhere in the country, ampler aids to keeping boys and girls at school, particularly the older among them, are essential. In the second place, London can afford such provision better than most areas.

An analysis of other sections of the country reveals similar varieties. Next to London, the county boroughs of the South-East offer the highest average maintenance grants² (in 1935-36 £8 3s. 6d.), closely followed by the adjoining county councils (£6 14s. 10d.). The size of these figures — well above the average of England (excluding London), whose figure stood at £5 18s. 1d. — must be accounted for by the relative wealth of the South-East and by the need to offset the same high cost of life as that experienced in London. Even more liberal than the

¹ In Wales there is not exactly the same index for concluding these relations as in England, because the total of intermediate awards actually exceeds the number of pupils in advanced courses (*vide supra*, p. 148). In other words, some children who have not yet sat the school certificate examination — an event which occurs later in the lives of many Welsh children than it does in the lives of English — are permitted intermediate awards. Thus, the above proportion refers, for Wales, to all intermediate awards which have a maintenance grant added; for England, on the other hand, it refers to pupils pursuing advanced courses who have the grants.

² *vide supra*, p. 131 for the definition of regions. The average includes junior and intermediate awards.

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average award of the south-eastern county councils was that of the county councils of the South-West — a feature difficult to explain unless it be that having, in contrast to their neighbouring county boroughs, made no attempt to offer unusual opportunities for Special Places,¹ these county councils could better afford to be generous where need for assistance towards maintenance could be established. High grants per head come more easily from full exchequers, which are not liable to a draining of revenue from a multitude of requests for help. The North displays the lowest average maintenance award — at a little over five guineas, a figure notably exceeded by the heavily industrial West Riding (North 3, whose average stood at £6 13s. 6d.) and by the county councils of North 1 with their remarkable average of £10 1s. 6d. This last may be accounted for, perhaps, by the need of many children to travel some distance to school. The low average of the North as a whole must be put down to its low fees and exceptional liberality, already mentioned as a characteristic of Wales, in making a large proportion of its L.E.A. secondary school places into assisted Special Places — nearly 70%, that is, about 10% ahead of the next area, the South-East. The Midlands come next above the North, and the East somewhat outstrips the Midlands, in the average value of their awards.

Apart from regional differences, there has been noticeable in the country as a whole a small, but perceptible, trend towards greater generosity in assistance since the inauguration of the Special Place system. Thus, the combined aggregate of free places in the 200 direct-grant secondary schools and Special Places in the L.E.A., and the remaining direct grant, schools increased from 65.7% of all admission in the autumn term of 1935 to 69.3% three years later. Again, in 1931-32 51.3% of

¹ The average award of the south-western county councils was £7 12s. 5d. They offered a little over 50% of all places in their L.E.A. secondary schools as assisted Special Places, whereas the county boroughs offered about 90%. The average of England (without London) was about 60%. Figures of Special Places without assistance are not available, thus not included in this paragraph.

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all new pupils entering the aided secondary schools in England paid full fees; in 1937-38 only 43.1%. During the earlier year, on the other hand, 48.7% of new pupils paid nothing, whereas, in 1937-38 that proportion had fallen off slightly to 47.3%, while a new category of partial fee-payers had been created, forming 9.6% of newcomers. To this extent, the relief which parents have been able to find from the payment of educational costs has been extended. But it must be remembered that even where total remission of fees can be secured by a family, only one of the three main elements composing full 'cost' of education has been cancelled. Maintenance grants can go some distance towards offsetting the remaining elements of full 'cost'. These have multiplied of recent years, 44,722 boys and girls receiving maintenance under junior awards in 1926-27, 78,253 (71,570 in England and 6683 in Wales) in 1935-36.¹ But the average annual value of such allowances, which stood no higher than £7 in England and £6 8s. od. in Wales at the earlier date, later shrank to £6 and £3 12s. od. To-day, the average value of intermediate maintenance allowances for the two countries combined comes out at about £13. Can it be expected that £3 12s. od. or even £7 will prove adequate to help poor families, with all the good will in the world, resist the temptation of putting a child to work with the prospect of earning £30 or so when he is 14 and £40 at 15? Will an allowance of £13 compensate them for the £50 or more which could be earned in later years? Assistance at these levels can do very little more than finance the supplementary outlay necessary to equip a child for post-primary education. The formidable item of 'wages forgone' remains untouched. The sacrifices which many families must make if their offspring are to be educated as they desire cannot be lifted from their shoulders by the authorities.

¹ 85,252 in 1937-38.

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So far it has been shown that the burden of the 'cost' of various types of career through the State post-primary schools may be qualified in two directions. The first influence, namely uneven provision of places, may have the effect, in many parts of the country, of forcing certain parents, whose ambitions exert a strain upon their modest means, virtually to select for their offspring a more expensive career than they would have chosen elsewhere. The second may relieve certain relatively poor families, if their children do well enough in the appropriate examinations, of partial or total fees and supplementary outlays, but not of the burden of sacrificing wages. By this second means two elements in the aggregate 'cost' of the more expensive careers can certainly be wiped out; on the other hand, the more expensive, that is, the more promising, careers are precisely those which involve longer study and therefore accumulate the 'cost' of forgoing wages. Thanks to this weighty item, neither remission of fees nor maintenance allowances can so lighten the expense of the more desired careers that they rise upwards to the less burdensome levels in the table of 'costs'. It still remains true that improving prospects are correlated directly and positively with growing sacrifice on the part of parental pockets. Moreover, both of these influences which come in to modify crude 'costs' touch only a proportion of the families which feel those costs.

It has, then, been demonstrated that the vast majority of our families, lacking the wherewithal to pay for the education of their children in private establishments, nevertheless come up against the need to bear, within the system of State schooling, financial burdens heavy in relation to the incomes of very many of them, if they are to purchase for their children something of the future they covet. What evidence is there, it will be asked, tending to show that such financial burdens are in fact assumed by the working classes and those social strata immediately above

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them? What evidence is there, in other words, that such families make sacrifices in order, by using State education as a channel of social mobility, to secure or improve their children's social and economic prospects?

Somewhat over a decade ago, two studies were made of movement between income groups. One¹ concluded that 58% of the sons of unskilled labourers on Merseyside remained themselves unskilled; the other² put that figure, for the country in its entirety, as low as 29.1%. Later, two other studies — one of Merseyside,³ one of West Ham⁴ — showed that, except in Liverpool's most miserable ward, even the poorest areas produced children who won free or Special Places in secondary, or who went through central, schools. A certain proportion, therefore, of the offspring belonging even to the poorest and most helpless section of our population attain to a better status, and the vast majority of these can only do so through educational channels which promise more favourable things. It was made plain, in the studies of Merseyside and West Ham, that despite the accumulation of obstacles to scholarship — circumstances of overcrowding so that children never get proper, uninterrupted sleep or quietude for work, an atmosphere of drunkenness and juvenile crime, depths of poverty due to prolonged unemployment which must rob the children of adequate nourishment, light and heat — nevertheless, the incentive to lift the rising generation above their parents' level by the lever of education is so great that the worst obstacles are overcome by a fraction of children possessed of almost super-human courage and perseverance.⁵ Many local authorities have lent

¹ See *Economic Journal*, vol. 41, article by C. T. Saunders.

² *ibid.* MORRIS GINSBERG's article, December 1929.

³ See *Merseyside Survey*, vol. III, p. 169. Table IV on that page shows an inverse correlation between wards gaining a high proportion of entries to secondary schools per 1000 of those attending elementary schools and the percentage of overcrowded families.

⁴ See study of H. W. BRAND, *Adult Education*, June 1936. Here, there appears a similar table to that mentioned in footnote 3 above.

⁵ From the poorest and most degraded districts, of course, that proportion is very small. *Vide supra*, p. 127. The most overcrowded ward in Liverpool, one of

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a helping hand by opening school class-rooms in the evenings, where these brave young souls may find the quietude, the heat and the light necessary to learn their lessons.¹

As obstacles due to poverty and overcrowding became less serious, the Merseyside and West Ham surveys discovered that the ambition to secure one of the more promising types of post-primary training found increasing realization: there was a growing proportion of children from elementary State schools going on to central and secondary. As those income levels are reached where poverty presses less heavily, parents can take a more active part in furthering their ambitions for the children. Thanks to combined efforts within such families, 'most children receive an education which enables them to enter the same grade of occupation as their parents'.² But there are signs that such a destiny does not offer enough satisfaction to a host of relatively poor families, who hope, by strict economics, to be able to keep their children at studies long enough to improve their occupational prospects. Those signs are especially visible in the history of the grant-aided secondary schools. In the school year 1913-14, these institutions held 142,844 pupils aged 11 to 16, a body which represented 4.1% of all children of those ages throughout the country: by 1937-38 the corresponding figures had steadily risen to 366,078 and 11.4%. An almost tripled fraction within this section of our child population had forced its way into the State secondary schools. At the same time boys and girls from working-class homes were laying constantly wider claim to the places. Children of wage-earners had filled 20.6% of them in 1909: by 1913 this proportion was

¹ The L.C.C., for example, opened 250 class-rooms during the winter of 1937.

² CARR-SAUNDERS and CARADOG JONES, in *A Survey of the Social Structure of England and Wales*, 1937, p. 132.

our distressed areas – a ward where the percentage of families overcrowded stood at 27.3 – evidently proved too much, in 1929-30, when the figures for the Merseyside Survey were selected, for any child to win a free place. In contrast, West Ham's most overcrowded ward produced some winners in the years 1931-33.

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still no higher than 21.0%, but by 1921 it reached 24.9% and by 1926 bulked as large as 27.3%. But now the labourers' progeny had begun to outnumber even the sons and daughters of salary-earners, and came to represent the largest group in the schools.¹ Between 1909 and 1926, their numbers increased by 217%, achieving thereby a larger rate of increase than any other group, the salaried classes following behind with an increase of 175%. One education authority which undertook a study of its junior county scholars in 1925-26, found that 64.1% came from homes where the income was under £5 a week, and one-half from parents earning between £3 and £5. In contrast, only 26.7% of the homes studied received between £5 and £7 a week, 9.2% up to £9, and no more than a negligible fraction above that sum. The working classes were evidently in the majority. It has already been mentioned that, in the meanwhile, the proportion of all pupils in grant-aided secondary schools staying on to take the school certificate has swollen.² Here is an important index that a growing band of increasingly working-class families were shouldering a burden of educational 'cost' which must, at their level of income, have required no small sacrifice. Another index of the same trend can be found in the falling fraction of children who, on leaving grant-aided secondary schools after their fourteenth birthday, have been in the schools only four years, in contrast to the growing fraction which leave in their sixth year. Over the years 1934 to 1937, years of economic recovery when the demand for juvenile labour was particularly abundant, the fraction of girls who had been in the schools for only four years, fell from 23.3% to 19.8%, of boys from 20.7% to 18.3%; meanwhile, girls leaving in their sixth year rose from 29.1% to 35.4%, and boys from 29.9% to 36%.

To-day, the public elementary schools are draughting for-

¹ These figures were worked up from the annual *Reports* of the Board of Education. Unfortunately, the Board issued nothing, later than 1926, to serve as a basis for more recent comparable figures.

² *vide supra*, p. III.

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ward some 10,000 more pupils into the grant-aided secondary schools than they were six years ago, while the quota coming from all other types of school has dwindled by a little more than 3000 during the same period. Yet the Spens Committee could still conclude of secondary school places, 'We are clear that the supply is not adequate until there are enough to secure a grammar [i.e. secondary] school education for those children who, all things considered, will benefit more from such a course than from such other forms of secondary [i.e. post-primary] education as are provided.'¹ The Committee seemed sure that, despite the rapid growth in State secondary education since the Great War, the demand had nevertheless outrun the supply. This conviction can mean only one thing: that not only have working- and lower-middle-class families had constantly wider recourse to the State secondary schools (for the obvious social and economic reasons, no doubt in the majority of instances, already mentioned),² but that many more would do so if they had the chance. The question then arises, what precisely is the mathematical chance or probability of any public elementary school child's proceeding at some time or other to an aided secondary school.³ While the aggregate of secondary school desks has grown over the years, so have the numbers in the public elementary schools. Can a father, therefore, contemplate his child's chances in the secondary competition with much more optimism to-day than he might have some years ago? The chance has, in fact, been strengthened over the decade 1927-37 from 10.6 to 13.7 for the country as a whole. Needless to say, the probability varies largely from district to district: it is much lower in industrial than in agricultural areas, while the industrial worker in England to-day encounters only half the chance

¹ *Spens Report, op. cit.*, p. 333.

² *vide supra*, pp. 108-110, where the favourable prospects of social and economic mobility for the products of secondary schools were examined.

³ The calculation of this chance is by no means simple, and the whole conception is open to confusion. An Appendix is consequently added explaining the mathematics.

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of his Welsh counterpart and a quarter the chance of rural families in west Wales.¹

A mathematical index of opportunity is merely a statement of fact; it contains no normative element. May it be, then, that although the index has shown only a small rise during latter years, nevertheless that rise has been adequate, under the guidance of the free place, and later of the Special Place, examinations, to embrace all those children who are capable of profiting by secondary training? A statistical analysis, undertaken of the school year, 1933-34, provides a scientific answer to that question. The authors examined some ten thousand children between the ages of 9 and 12½ who were drawn from London schools of all types² — public elementary (excluding central), central, secondary, private and preparatory. Unfortunately, the intelligence test used³ was transported from American psychological laboratories without 'standardizing' or adequate adaptation to the circumstances of English children. Moreover, the authors do not indicate what correlation exists between their own test and the Special Place examination of the L.C.C. The results of this study therefore, although the only one available, are no precise measure of the ability thrown out from London schools without so much as the opportunity of proving itself. Nevertheless, while these results cannot be accepted as absolutely reliable, they can scarcely be ignored, as some critics of the work would propose. Important conclusions are drawn from findings too decisive to be upset by admitting a certain margin of error.

More than one-fifth of all the children examined in the public elementary schools in London were found to possess 'high

¹ See, for details, HANS, *Year Book of Education*, 1939, chap. ii, Table 7; also LADY SHENA SIMON in *Education*, September 18th, 1936. If the probability of an elementary school child's entering secondary and central, or secondary, central and senior, schools were being measured, industrial areas would catch up with the agricultural.

² J. L. GRAY and PEARL MOSHINSKY, *Sociological Review*, April 1935. The study has also been published in *Political Arithmetic*, 1938.

³ The Otis Advanced Group Intelligence Test.

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ability',¹ yet only one-tenth of them will be given the chance of entering a secondary class-room — a fraction which is not even large enough to absorb the 13% of children with ability of an exceptional order.² Naturally, free places and Special Places are still more scarce; boys and girls in London elementary schools having only 6.6 chances in a hundred of occupying such a place.

It is scarcely surprising, then, to find that in the central schools, which take the best of those neither successful enough to win a Special Place nor fortunate enough to have parents to pay fees for an 'ordinary' place in the secondary schools,³ 70% of pupils possess a high ability which is equal to that displayed by only half of fee-payers in secondary schools. Even more serious, one-half of the central school pupils proved themselves exceptionally able; yet very few of these first class brains would ever be given opportunity for full development and expression. Greatest tragedy of all, those gifted children against whom both central and secondary school were closed, apart only from a few who might take a late place in a secondary school — when their number could only be reduced by an insignificant fraction — constituted an army large enough to represent one in five or six.⁴

¹ After testing, children were assigned Intelligence Quotients (I.Q.s). An I.Q. measures the excess or deficiency of a child's 'mental age' above or below his chronological age, the latter being expressed as 100. 'Mental age' is then found by comparing his intellectual performance with that of other children from whom 'normal' achievements at each age have been found. 'High ability' is defined as the attainment of an I.Q. of 130 and over, a choice which the authors justify on two grounds. 'In the first place, it is the level attained by roughly 25% of the entire school population and by more than 50% of fee-paying children. Secondly, nearly all free pupils in secondary schools exceed it, and it may thus be taken as the minimum requirement imposed by the State in its rigorous selection of elementary school pupils for free education of a higher type.' (See *Sociological Review*, p. 140.) Some authors have taken a lower level of intelligence to define scholarship children, e.g. Dr. Cattell in his studies on intelligence and fertility has accepted I.Q. 120.

² Defined by an I.Q. of 140 or over. More than 13% of elementary school children between 9 and 11, i.e., before the scholarship examinations had begun in earnest to cream off the best, were found to exceed these limits.

³ In all, 12.3% of elementary school children were found going to the central schools.

⁴ 21.8% of children in the senior and unreorganized elementary schools between the ages of 11 and 12½ were found to have an I.Q. of 130 or over.

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If the proportions of high ability thus discovered among children in the various London schools were assumed to apply to the same types of school elsewhere in England and Wales,¹ it could be estimated that at the time of that study a total of some 710,000² children endowed with high ability were to be found throughout the country. Less than half of them, it seems, would be given the opportunity for 'higher' education.³ Worse, nearly a half of all children possessing *exceptional* ability throughout the country — their total number having been calculated by assuming the prevalence of such ability in various schools to be the same outside as inside London — would appear never to have that opportunity either. The whole of such loss, however, would naturally be borne by children whose parents cannot undertake to pay school fees for them. To group fee-payers with free pupils, therefore, masks the full extent to which gifted children were unable to enjoy the fruits of a 'higher' education. Among free pupils — who contributed 84.4% to the country's total of all pupils with high ability, and 81.9% to those with exceptional gifts — only one-quarter of all the available high ability was allowed to enter those pastures, whereas three-quarters to the end of their school days have to rest content with the public elementary or, at best, the central school. Even exceptional ability, it would seem, was hardly more generously treated, almost two-thirds of it being condemned to the same unpromising fate.

Where families can meet at least some of the costs of schooling,

¹ The English and Welsh totals of pupils in some of those schools were taken from official sources, some were estimated.

² Pupils from the various schools contributed the following proportions to this total: elementary, aged 9.0 to 11.0, 25%; elementary aged 11.1 to 12.6, 40%; central, 13%; free pupils in secondary, 6%; fee-payers in secondary, 5%; private and preparatory, 11%.

³ i.e., counting first the 1 in 12 (exceeding the 1 in 10 true for London only) children throughout the country who might have expected — according to the prospects during the year 1933-34 when the study was made — to pass ultimately from elementary to secondary education; second, those already in the secondary schools; third, those in private and preparatory schools. It is assumed that all suitable children whose parents pay for them in preparatory or private schools do get the opportunity for continuing their education to a 'higher' stage.

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good and bad soils alike receive careful attention. Indeed, half the secondary pupils whose parents pay some fees fail to measure up to that mark of ability where the I.Q. attains 130. Certainly not until the thousands of 'ordinary' fee-paying places in our aided secondary schools are converted into Special Places and thus allotted primarily on the results of an examination designed solely to test ability, could it be claimed that even within the limits of our present school accommodation a serious attempt is being made to embrace only those best fitted to benefit by the instruction. But even that consummation, it is evident, would be far from the ideal of including all who are genuinely capable of profiting by secondary training. Consequently, the Special Place Examination remains highly competitive, even among those youngsters whose brains and character ought to make them unquestionable winners: the rigours of this competition can be evaded only if parents can economize sufficiently to undertake the payment of positive costs, as well as to tolerate the sacrifice of wages.

There can be no dispute that the pressure exerted from families in our lower income levels to force their children into the more promising avenues of State post-primary education has been intensified since the Great War. At the same time, it is very obvious how sound are the reasons prompting these families to secure some surplus of earnings over outgoings for the purpose of spending on education. Only so can they ensure themselves against competitive risks or meet the exaction of fees under the L.E.A. means tests. To what extremities many homes are driven in the effort of providing themselves with this surplus of income, appears from an inquiry conducted by the Association of Head Mistresses and published in their Annual Report of 1933. They investigated expenditures and budgets of families, throughout the country, which had daughters in urban or rural secondary schools. They classified family incomes as most L.E.A.s would classify them in scales of assistance, in order to obtain a direct comparison, i.e. deducting 10s. a

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week for each dependent child before striking a net figure. Most authorities, it appears, consider 10s. sufficient for the maintenance of a child. Income groups were then divided into two sections, the one of those paying school fees, the other not, and the expenditures on food in each section examined. Below is a table based on a large number of budgets returned by relevant families.

<i>Weekly 'real' income of parents (i.e. 10s. for each dependent child deducted from gross income)</i>	<i>Average Expenditure on Food per Person per Week</i>			
	<i>Paying school fees</i>		<i>Paying no fees</i>	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Below £3	—	—	6	3½
Between £3 and £4	8	8	10	6
Between £4 and £5	9	8	10	10
Between £5 and £6	10	1	12	6
Between £6 and £7	10	8	13	10

The headmistresses concluded: 'The actual expenditure per head on food does not seem to us to reach a satisfactory level in income groups below about £5 ('real' income) a week for families with one child. The average expenditure per head on food in families that are fairly well-to-do is about 14s. per week. Where it drops much below 12s. a head in a small family which included a man at work and a growing boy or girl, we are inclined to suspect a diet deficient in fresh fruit, milk, or some other element essential for real staying power during adolescence. It is possibly partly for this reason that some promising scholarship or free place holders tend at the age of 14 or 15 to drop behind in their work and do not fulfil their promise . . .' They further emphasized that in every 'real' income bracket, including even the highest in the table — £6 7s. od. — definite economies on food were made where school fees had to be budgeted for. The Report continued: 'We have been struck by the thriftiness and self-sacrifice of the parents who send children to the secondary schools . . . The amount set aside for personal

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expenditure by the parents for pleasures or even for summer holidays is often negligible, even in the £6-£7 group. Even in this group it would seem that the incidental expenses of a secondary school cannot be borne without undue curtailment of expenditure on the essentials of health.'

Although the inquiry had shown that, in 1932, the necessity of paying fees exerted a clearly marked pressure upon income levels as high as £6-£7, calculated to affect the health and efficiency of a family adversely, yet, under the new regulations of 1933¹ the Board of Education proceeded to raise the rate of fees and depress the rate of income at which full remission of fees must cease. Henceforth, some fees had to be paid for secondary education in aided schools as soon as the parents' 'real' income, as calculated by the headmistresses, amounted to the low figure of £4 10s. od. or thereabouts. Family incomes reaching this and higher levels, which had previously enjoyed free education and in consequence had yielded a more liberal diet, had now to pay a part of the new and increased fees, while those earning a 'real' income above £6, whatever their previous difficulties, could look forward to relief from any part of fee-paying only under exceptional conditions.² The screw was being turned upon the 'artisan' and lower-middle classes.

It has been shown in the preceding chapter how these sections of our people have been driven by events to cease regarding their children as possible sources of profit. To-day, the poor man's large family is commonly found to consist of many 'unwanted' children, who would never be born if the habit of contraception were opened to the parents. Profound as the change of mind involved in the new attitude to children may be, it has not stopped at that point: the policy of turning a child out to work as soon as the law permits is becoming repugnant to an increasing proportion of homes. There are signs that even the

¹ *vide supra*, p. 132.

² e.g., just under a half of all L.E.A. secondary schools are prepared to make such exceptions if a given family has two or more fee-paying children at the same school or affiliated schools.

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most indigent are being fired with the ambition to see their offspring escape the abyss of poverty. Higher up the social scale, parents are resolved that at least their degree of economic security shall be handed on to the next generation; being able to set aside a little money from the barest necessities of life, they are in a stronger position to go further and ensure their children something of a rise in status. All along the line, the strictest economies must be pursued in order to keep down competing expenditures, even on such items as food and amusements, if progress up the social and economic ladder is to be financed. Here is no easy road, but one demanding the exercise of restraint and foresight to a degree calculated to take a toll of health itself. The primary condition which this discipline must aim to satisfy is that schooling should not be prematurely curtailed at the age of 14; in other words, that an older child's wages need not be rendered indispensable in order to provide the actual necessities of life for younger brothers and sisters. In short, the family must not be allowed to grow to such dimensions that the surplus of parental earnings over essential family outlay falls to a danger point. Beyond economy on food and amusement — an economy which is pushed, it has been shown, to an extreme — to restrict the family circle is the simplest, often the only, way of reducing expenditure which might compete with the wherewithal to realize social ambition.

As the years go by, educational qualification is coming to be regarded as the main determinant, both in the world of business and among the professions, of a candidate's utility to the employer. How this view grew up in Great Britain has been outlined in chap. i. The investigation, in the present chapter, into the prospects held out by various forms of State-assisted education has shown that part-time study can help a student only a relatively short way along the forward road, unless foundations have already been laid during years of full-time study following the 14th birthday. Increasing emphasis upon the route of education, therefore, is bound to be laid by families in every

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walk of life when searching for the readiest avenue of social mobility; especially is this true of the less well-off, for whom advancement by means of personal influence and connection is rarely feasible. For such a purpose, education must mean, to begin with, full-time, post-primary training; and the striking degree of positive correlation which these pages have discovered between higher 'costs' and brighter prospects leads to the inescapable conclusion that, if they have their children's future at heart, parents will feel the very strongest incentive to meet the highest 'costs' coverable, with all the prudence and economy they can command, by their aggregate income. At each higher level of family resources, ambition will reach out towards a more promising, therefore more expensive, educational career. The most favourably placed parent will try, as it has already been argued, to defeat the competitive risks of the Special Place Examination by preparing his exchequer for the payment, if necessary, of fees. The more capable the exchequer of bearing financial burdens, the greater demands will be made upon it. Consequently, the pressure upon fertility is hardly relieved, given equal ambition and fortitude, as between families which are less, and those more, comfortably placed.

There can be no question that, were full statistics forthcoming, the above analysis of the impact of educational 'costs' upon the birth-rate of the vast majority of our homes would be fully borne out. As it is, there comes to hand a recent study covering a minute section of the field, but nevertheless significant in its confirmation of the arguments of this chapter. A survey was made of nearly all the children, aged 8-12, living in 1934 in Bath, and of their families — according to its authors a good representative sample of an urban population for their purpose.¹

¹ FRASER ROBERTS, *Studies on a Child Population, Annals of Eugenics*, 1938, vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 178-215. The most important group of children omitted from the study were those coming from Bath families and in schools remote from Bath. Numerically and in proportion to children in public elementary and State-aided secondary schools, this group may be counted negligibly small. Socially, however, this means in effect that the wealthiest families who would send their children to distant boarding schools were under-represented. They

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The study shows that families were largest among pupils in senior elementary schools, rather smaller in central schools, averaging 3.9 children in the former and 3.2 in the latter. In comparison with these, all other families represented in the schools of all types are smaller. Correlate the educational status of their offspring with the magnitude of the family circle from which they derive, and the result is astonishing. First, Special Place holders in the State-aided schools (2.8 children in the family); next, Grade B private schools (2.7); third, Grade A 'public' and private schools (2.5); fourth, non-Special Place children in aided secondary schools who had sat the scholarship examination — i.e. had competed for a Special Place (2.3); and lastly, the non-Special Place holders who had made no attempt to win any award (2.1).

It may be that many forces can be seen at work here; but there can be little doubt that among them the influence of the cost of education takes a prominent place. Why should the non-Special Place children come from the smallest families of all? Here are to be found just those families where secondary education is counted so desirable that parents have prepared themselves to meet even the full charges in order that their children should not miss the privilege. Many of them would have been very ready to accept a Special Place had one been offered them, and, in spite of misgivings, may have entertained the hope that this would eventuate. It may have been that the existence of such a possibility, however remote it might remain, would account for families here (2.3) being slightly larger than where relief from fees was never contemplated (2.1). Children from these last families will usually have attended a private preparatory, rather than the public elementary, school, and will belong to precisely those parents whose pride would abhor accepting any public aid towards their children's education. There

were not completely missing because many children who would later proceed to boarding schools were still in local preparatory schools at the date of investigation, while others not too far from Bath were traced.

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would be nothing to qualify their parents' certainty not only that secondary fees must be provided for, but that bills from private schools would have to be met for some six years before that. Yet, their incomes are usually small. It is small wonder, therefore, that they cannot afford such ambitions for more than two children. Unfortunately, there is as yet no information to indicate what size of families are found among Special Place children whose parents must, nevertheless, pay fees because their incomes are counted too high to justify assistance. It may be suspected, however, that they would be similarly small. Such parents must have been aware of their risk, and the children's presence in the school notwithstanding indicates a preparedness to meet the cost of fees. Frequently, their incomes being not sufficiently outside the limits of assistance to leave a wide margin, financial difficulties become acute when fees must be paid.

In contrast to all these families whose children are sent to the L.E.A. or other aided secondary schools, it is usually true that those patronizing the local private schools or else aspiring to 'public' school standing are much more comfortably placed. The cost of sending their children as day scholars will rarely require extreme economics. There is in fact some ground for understanding why the size of families among these latter groups — amounting to about 2.6 on the average — shows evidence of rather less restriction than in State secondary schools. If a really representative sample could be given for the much more wealthy who keep offspring at boarding 'public' schools, still larger families might have been found. The numbers comprised in the Bath study, however, were too small for any conclusive statement on this question, but they do suggest tentatively that among families 'representing perhaps the highest 5% of the population in social status' the most intelligent parents are no longer also those who restrict their families most severely.¹ In other words, at these income levels parents can afford to be

¹ FRASER ROBERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

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intelligent, and to provide fully for purchasing their children a first-rate education, without being involved in further excessive limitation of their families. These families may not be large, but they might indeed be larger than some groups rather lower down the social scale. An investigation¹ into the numbers of brothers and sisters² possessed by boys and girls at boarding and day schools throughout the country has supplied some evidence for confirming such a hypothesis. The striking fact has developed that the only child is very much less common in the expensive, than in the cheaper, boarding schools, or than in moderately priced day schools where the majority of pupils would be expected to pay fees. In this way support is given to the findings of the Bath study: it is among these latter families that pressure is greater. Contrary to general belief, in fact, the size of the family has *not* been found to contract steadily with advancing social status. The most excessive pressure on the size has appeared among the middle, not among the upper classes.³

As the lower rungs of the social ladder are approached in those council secondary schools where the percentage of assisted pupils is very high, the pendulum swings again in the opposite direction, the only child becoming as rare as in the most expensive boarding schools. If the only child, however, characterizes in general certain well-defined groups, the widespread nature of a habit which contents itself not with one, but with very few more children, is reflected in a proportion of families with but two youngsters that remains practically con-

¹ An investigation which Dr. Grace Leybourne undertook during the winter and spring of 1937-38, questionnaires being circulated to schools. 646 replies were received from boys at 5 expensive boarding schools (fees £150 or more), and 915 from girls at 7 schools of the same category (fees £140 or more). 402 answers came from boys at 3 cheaper boarding schools. From day scholars paying moderate fees (£15 to £28 a year), 790 answers came from boys (at 6 schools) and 516 from girls (at 3 schools). 5 cheap council secondary schools for girls where there was a high percentage of assisted pupils sent 837 replies.

² Who were alive and not step relations.

³ Unfortunately, however, both of these inquiries, using the schools as their avenue of approach, take no account whatever of childless marriages. It may be that if these latter were included they would appear among the wealthy so often that the average size of their families would then drop below all others.

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stant in all the different grades of 'public' or secondary school. Beyond families with two, matters once more become complex. The expensive boarding schools and the L.E.A. schools providing for lower-class parents show more families of three and above, than do the schools moderately priced but where the majority will pay.¹ In short, to whatever type of educational establishment we look for evidence, expenditure on fees, apart altogether from other attendant expenses of schooling and apart from costs for later training, undoubtedly leaves its mark on the size of families.²

It appears, then, that those who concern themselves with the fortunes of our people, whether the trend in their numbers or the state of their nourishment, may justly turn an eye of inquiry upon our grant-aided schools. Any undesirable effect the latter may exert in these matters — matters of vital import to society — arises not so much from the type of facility they offer as from its meagreness. In other words, it is the pressure of demand upon the school system which forces many parents to contract the scope of their family life, in order to squeeze within Minerva's precious, but narrow, portals.

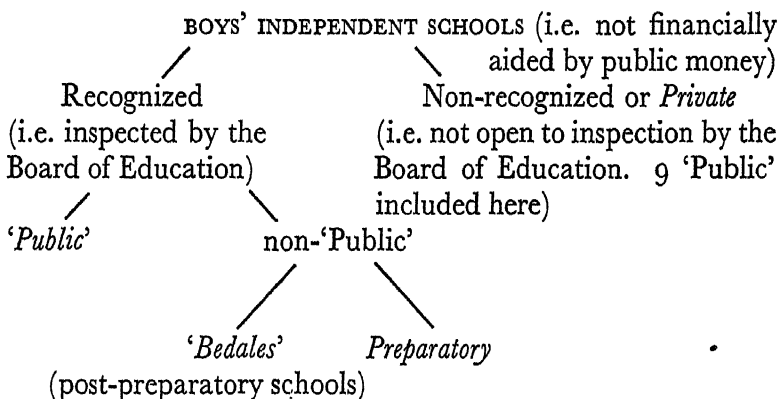
¹ See Table C.

² The effect of school fees in depressing the size of family reared is also shown from another angle if school children are classified in accordance with the occupations followed by their parents. Such a classification has recently been undertaken by J. L. GRAY and PEARL MOSHINSKY, in a study of London school children between the ages of 9 and 12½ who were drawn from all types of school (*op. cit.*, Part II, in *Sociological Review*, July 1935). The authors calculated the mean family size of certain 'socio-economic categories'; these categories were in their turn divided into two — those families whose children were all 'free pupils', and those whose children were all 'fee-paying pupils'. Let us name these divisions respectively A and B. The mean family size for professional occupations A was 3.28, B as low as 2.61; for clerical and commercial employees A 3.52, B 2.19; of the category 'manual workers', skilled wage-earners A displayed a mean family size of 4.02, B 2.30, while unskilled wage-earners A showed a figure of 4.62, B a figure of 2.33. The mean of all categories A came out at 4.09, B at 2.49. It should be noted that in this study, families with children in boarding 'public' schools were omitted, except in so far as the same social groups are represented by young children in local preparatory schools. Those families, often among the wealthiest, whose sons, and perhaps also daughters, would be sent away to schools as young as 9 or 10, were completely missed.

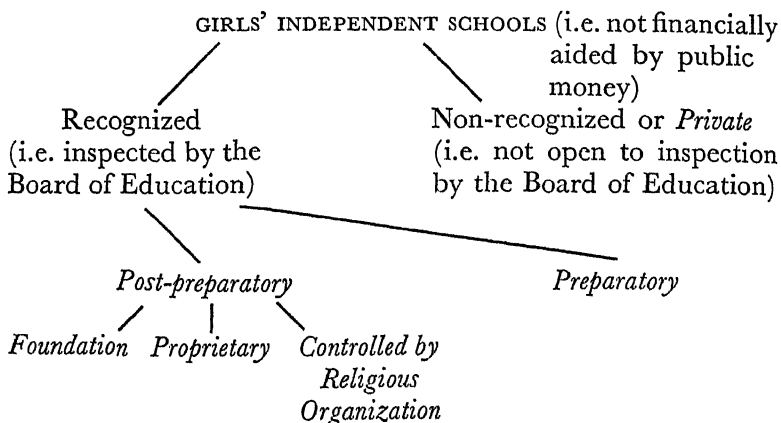
INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

§ 1 *Types of Independent Secondary School*

MANY parents in this country look for their children's education elsewhere than to the schools maintained or assisted by the State; and even among educational establishments outside the State system, mere day schools often arouse little enthusiasm. The contrast, then, is not merely between State and non-State schools as such: it goes deeper. In fact, beyond the bounds of the State system there lie schools of such diverse types, that any attempt to assume uniformity similar in one field as in the other could yield nothing but misleading conclusions. Clarity in distinguishing these types of independent, or non-aided, schools will probably be best achieved by means of the diagrams which follow.



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All the schools discussed here are independent in the sense that they receive financial aid neither from the Board of Education nor from local education authorities. They fall into two distinct categories, however, being either open or closed to inspection by His Majesty's Inspectors of the Board of Education. Where not, they are here classified as private schools, although that term is sometimes elsewhere used to designate all non-aided schools.¹ Another term used in these diagrams may also need explanation. 'Public' might well seem very strange as applied to schools which are by definition neither maintained nor assisted by public money. Public elementary, and the various post-primary, schools which are in fact financed from the public purse, might well be regarded as monopolizing the right to call themselves public in any sense. Remarkably enough, however, while logical argument finds little justification for extending the term 'public' to cover schools altogether outside the publicly

¹ e.g., by the Board of Education's Departmental Committee on *Private Schools* in 1932. In other words, that Report describes as 'private' all those schools which in this text are described as 'independent'. The narrow definition of the term 'private' is used here because it seems to accord more closely with the generally accepted meaning of this term. It must be noted, however, that 9 'public' schools for boys still remain closed to inspection by the Board.

INDEPENDENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS

financed system of education, nevertheless certain boys' schools, which claim that they are non-profit making and 'in the public interest', are from long usage known as 'public' schools, and it would be both arbitrary and confusing if an attempt were made to ignore usage by introducing a more strictly logical nomenclature. In the following pages, therefore, the 'public' schools are discussed as a distinct category, subdivided into boarding 'public' schools and day 'public' schools along lines presently to be described. This isolation as a single group, moreover, is the more justifiable because in reputation these 'public' schools for boys stand pre-eminent. They are Britain's scholastic pride.

Membership of the Headmasters' Conference conveniently serves nowadays to draw a hard and fast line between 'public' schools and countless others anxious to claim 'public' status if they could. 'Public' schools have not, of course, always been defined by such a test. The Conference only came into being in 1869, whereas 'public' schools as an institution were well known before that date. Beyond nine ancient foundations to which the inquiries of the Public Schools Commission (1861-64) had been confined,¹ there existed a large number of endowed schools claiming with varying measures of success the same recognition accorded to these nine. Everything depended upon a tradition slowly built over a long course of years. Soon, however, as education assumed during the Seventies and Eighties a new and urgent significance for the leading classes in this country,² and as a 'public' school education came correspondingly into great demand, such claims made themselves more and more widely heard. There was assuredly a real need for the establishment of criteria by which a school claiming to be called 'public' could be judged. Ostensibly, the Headmasters' Conference was set up to oppose an encroachment upon the independence of endowed schools threatened by a proposal in the Endowed Schools Bill of 1869. A central examina-

¹ viz. Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury. See chap. i, pp. 42-43.

² *vide supra*, chap. i.

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tions council was to be created. But it seems that the great 'public' schools and those others with whom they were prepared to associate were not only jealous of the name they bore, but also genuinely anxious to protect that name against its adoption by charlatans, who might easily be accepted at their own valuation by a world eager for wider opportunities of 'public' school education. Defined by membership of this Conference, then, there were 50 'public' schools in 1871, 84 ten years later, 113 just before the Great War, 148 in 1931, and to-day 185.¹

Stringent as the conditions of membership were made, however, in order to safeguard the honoured title, they have yet not proved too inflexible to admit schools of very varying characters. They require control 'in the public interest' by a governing body, a satisfactory degree of independence for this body and for the headmaster, and a high standard of scholarship proved by boys from the school passing into British universities.² They also require accommodation for a minimum of 150 boys. In addition to the great schools such as Eton, Winchester, Harrow or Rugby, which possess a national reputation for the education of boys from the wealthiest sections of society, schools without such a reputation but able to satisfy the minimum requirements have been able to take to themselves a coveted name, thus to bask in the glory reflected from those revered institutions. Most of the lesser 'public' schools are day schools, but not only so. The majority are also partly dependent upon public funds for their income, since they are linked to the

¹ See Table A. A short list of overseas members is also kept, but such schools are not considered in this text. The 185 included none on the overseas list; 163 were in England, 8 in Wales, 7 in Scotland, 4 in Ireland, 1 in the Isle of Man and 2 in the Channel Islands.

² See *Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book*. Nevertheless, a certain inconsistency of policy in the past has allowed a few council secondary schools to creep in. Thus, to-day there are seven schools where a county or county borough council is the governing body. Those schools would never be admitted to the Conference to-day, and although they will remain as long as they keep their present headmasters, they will not be re-admitted under a changed headship. (In Tables B, all such schools are counted as day 'public' and not as council. The numbers of boys involved are not, however, large and are decreasing - 5033 in 1934 and 3920 in 1936, for example.)

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State system of education by receiving a grant from the Board of Education, L.E.A.s, or both. Out of 171 'public' schools in England and Wales in 1938, 81 were in receipt of such grants. Roughly one-half of the 'public' schools, therefore, are dependent on public money. For that reason, most of these day 'public' schools¹ have already been referred to, if indirectly, with other State-aided schools.² The direct-grant schools already described, in fact, comprise a majority of these day 'public' schools. Nevertheless, anomalous as the mention here of any State-aided schools may seem, it will be necessary to include them from time to time in consequence of the peculiar significance attaching to a name which they share with more eminent institutions.³

Very close in standing to these 'public' schools, is found another group of schools for boys. They have all been 'recognized' as 'efficient' secondary schools after inspection by the Board of Education, but none of them receive public moneys on the one hand, nor on the other are they represented on the Headmasters' Conference.⁴ On October 1st, 1936,⁵ 9740 boys

¹ In this text, boarding 'public' schools are defined in consonance with the article of DAVID GLASS, *Political Arithmetic*, 1938, Opportunity and the Older Universities, i.e. as those where more than 50% of the pupils are boarders. There are also grouped with these a few of the remainder where the fees are too high (above £31 10s. od. per year) to allow of their forming a homogeneous group with the cheap day 'public' schools of a grammar school type. (Fees given for day pupils in the *Public Schools Year Book* for 1938 ranged all the way from £6 to £93 per annum, although this latter figure was approached in only one school). From the point of view of the type of families they serve, the more expensive groups are better included with boarding than with day schools. This distinction, for example, places Westminster School among the former, The City of London School among the latter.

² i.e. in chap. ii

³ The classification adopted does not altogether remove aided schools from the boarding group of 'public' schools. Thus, in 1936-37 (the last year for which complete statistics are now available), out of a total of 34,013 boys in boarding 'public' schools in England and Wales (to be denoted in the following as BP schools), 5161 belonged to schools in receipt of a grant. In the day 'public' schools, however, 36,896 boys out of 38,712 came from such grant-aided schools. (Day 'public' schools will be denoted by DP.)

⁴ All such schools are included in the Board of Education's *List 60*, of grant-aided and 'efficient' secondary schools and of 'efficient' preparatory schools.

⁵ As shown in the *List 60*, 1936-37.

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were enrolled in schools of this type, in contrast to the 34,013 in boarding 'public' schools¹ and 38,712 in day 'public' schools. They range in type everywhere from the large and almost exclusively boarding schools, like those under the Society of Friends and certain co-educational schools such as Bedales, to day secondary schools² of a private character. The greater number belong to the first category — i.e. 34 out of a total of 61.

There can be no doubt that there is one main attraction in all these schools, whether those strictly within the definition most commonly accepted of a 'public' school or these others which may be closely associated with them in all but name. That attraction is the social prestige which undeniably attaches itself to wearers of the 'old school tie'. Parents who send their sons to these institutions do so with the full knowledge that they 'confer a prestige and open the doors to many desirable occupations'.³ They know, if not in detail, how preponderantly every type of higher post in England is filled by boys from the 'public' schools. If they needed persuasion and took the trouble of investigating the matter, their evidence would be overwhelming. They would find that in 1927, 52 out of 56 bishops had attended; 19 out of 24 deans; 17 out of 25 lords of appeal, justices of the Court of Appeal and the High Court; 122 out of 156 county court judges, recorders, metropolitan magistrates, and stipendiary magistrates; 152 out of 210 home civil servants earning £1000 a year or more — 10 having come from Scottish schools; 33 out of 41 English members of the Indian civil service; 30 out of 47 governors of Dominions; 62 out of 82 directors

¹ Including non-recognized schools which supplied the information direct to us.

² Throughout this chapter, boarding schools within any group are distinguished from day by having more than one half of their pupils as boarders. This group of boys' independent, inspected, but not BP or DP schools, may conveniently be labelled 'Bedales' schools, although without implying that like Bedales they are co-educational or mainly boarding. In fact 27 of this 'Bedales' group are day schools — i.e. less than half their pupils are boarders.

³ A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS, *World Population*, 1936, p. 251.

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of 5 banks; and 37 out of 50 directors of 4 railway companies.¹ They would also learn that half of the 306 persons holding Cabinet office between 1801 and 1924 attended one out of 11 leading 'public' schools.² In a Cabinet in office during the summer of 1937, apart from one member about whose schooling no information was available, there was only one real exception to a monopoly of places by 'public' school men. One other had come from Bedales — scarcely to be regarded as an exception.

It would however be difficult to find parents who need the proof of such hard facts to convince them of the supreme advantages in England of education at a 'public' school. Foremost among the reasons for such advantages, moreover, would be placed tradition. 'The Public Schools have a great tradition; a tradition of character, a tradition of manners, a tradition of physical excellence, a tradition of self-government.'³ Tradition in these schools can even outweigh in parents' minds any failure to extend or renovate antiquated buildings or to keep pace with modern developments in educational theory and practice. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that schools lagging too far behind the general standard in these more concrete matters would inevitably, even in what might be supposed the calm and secluded waters of the 'public' school world, find parents in these days of fierce competition growing restive for alteration and progress. Whatever may have been true in days when the 'public' schools were more corrupt than efficient,⁴ more than mere tradition is responsible to-day for the respect in which these schools are held. Important as social qualifications are undoubtedly considered, something more substantial is essen-

¹ Figures given by R. H. TAWNEY in his *Halley Stewart Lecture* of 1929, Appendix I. They were compiled from *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1927 (1926 for the governors of dominions), the *Stock Exchange Year Book* for 1927, and from *Who's Who*.

² HAROLD LASKI, *American Political Science Review*, 1928, vol. XXII, p. 12. The Personnel of the English Cabinet 1801-1924.

³ *Interim Report of the Consultative Committee*, 1916, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ *vide supra*, chap. i, pp. 41-42.

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tial in a society where the general standard of education is as high as in ours to-day.

In order to secure for a boarder the characteristic advantages of a 'public' school education, considerable expenditure must be undertaken. Thus, the more modest type of establishment expends annually close on a minimum of £100 per pupil, and the expensive more than twice that sum. The specifically boarding costs naturally bulk largest; but if the most generous allowance is made for them, expenditure upon the more formal side of education represents a sum considerably larger than that allotted, for example, in council secondary schools. There, the total expenditure each year upon all the items of school maintenance amounts to an average of £33.¹ Day 'public' schools, though less wealthy than boarding establishments, also enjoy almost invariably higher incomes to devote to their pupils than fall to the lot of State secondary schools. Superior buildings, equipment, libraries and other facilities are not the only consequences of more generous spending by school exchequers. Perhaps most important of all is the fact that teachers can be given much smaller classes. In 'public' schools, if only full-time assistant masters are counted,² the average number of pupils per teacher during 1938 was 12.8 where the boarding and tuition fees amounted to £140 or more, 15.1 where this fee stood between £100 and £139, 18.3 where the day boys' fee fell within the limits £20 to £39, and 19.8 for lower day fees. In comparison, the average number of pupils per class in all grant-aided secondary schools in the same year was 24.6.³ If council secondary schools could be quoted alone, without question the divergence between them and the 'public' schools would be still greater than the above figures might suggest. For in council secondary schools as many as 76.2% of classes

¹ *vide supra*, chap. ii, p. 101.

² i.e. excluding all part-time, visiting and other teachers not included as full assistant masters. The *Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book* for 1938 furnished the following figures.

³ *Report of the Board of Education for 1938*, p. 16.

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were large enough to contain more than 20 children, whereas only 67.7% of classes in a comparable group consisting of day 'public' schools and the like reached such a size.¹ No educationist would need persuading of the inestimable value residing in the small class, especially for the exceptional boy, whether advanced or backward for his age. The difference between the normal class of 30 in council secondary schools — to say nothing of those classes which, at least one in four, exceed this limit² — and the 13 or 15 in boarding 'public' schools, represents more than figures can indicate of what can be attempted and achieved for the education of the individual.

Still more is this true for intellectually minded boys, since the masters in 'public' schools represent the pick of the university market. Not only can wealthier schools afford to offer higher prizes in the form of more comfortable incomes and prospects, but for master no less than pupil these schools are surrounded by an aura of social well-being too fascinating to allow other educational establishments, even where opportunities for training young lives and minds may promise much more scope and variety, to go far in competing with them. Consequently, the staffs of the two types of school — boarding 'public' and council secondary for boys — are distinguished not merely by a difference in the proportion of non-graduates — 5.2% for the former and 9.1% for the latter³ — but also by the difference in the proportion of graduates from Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford is represented by 39.3% of regular staffs in boarding 'public', but only 7.7% in council secondary schools, and the corresponding figures for Cambridge are 44.5% and 8.7%.⁴ The inclusion of the day 'public' schools with the boarding schools only lowers these percentages to 34.6% and 41.0% for the two universities respectively. For the boy intending to enter

¹ *Report of the Board of Education for 1938*, Table 39. These figures refer to both boys and girls, but much the same difference would no doubt exist for boys alone.

² 26% of classes in these schools in 1938 exceeded 30. *ibid.*

³ D. V. GLASS, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

⁴ GLASS, *ibid.*

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those same seats of learning, the gain from having teachers who have trodden that path before, is great. If his career depends upon his winning a scholarship, the advantage is incalculable. For the standard of scholarship winning is so high that a knowledge of precisely what is needed in the relatively short time for preparation, and an experience in the routine of coaching, provides an invaluable start in an arduous race.

The 'public' schools have other advantages to offer the prospective scholarship candidate. These schools have a long tradition in scholarship, especially in the humanities, in which so large a number of open scholarships and exhibitions are given at the ancient universities.¹ Furthermore, they can rely upon reasonably large classes of senior boys working together towards university entrance. The pressure of home circumstances less often makes it necessary for boys to leave the school early or to cut unduly short the post-matriculation period of training for the university. Such a distinction is perhaps reflected well enough in the fact that during the school year 1936-37, boys aged 16 and over formed 10.5% of all boys in grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales, whereas this figure rose to 26.5% in the non-aided schools on the Board's Efficient List.² When a group of senior boys can be relied upon to remain large year after year, it is obviously easier to organize suitable advanced courses. The provision of teachers specially qualified for this advanced work is as important as the provision of well-equipped laboratories and of well-stocked libraries, and is likely to be as remunerative in educational results. Not least important, a boy working alone in a council secondary school misses that clash of mind with mind among contemporaries which

¹ See GLASS, *op. cit.* Tables XXa and b. In the text, this author writes: 'Although suffering a significant reduction in the past twenty years, this faculty [i.e. Classics] still remains pre-eminent to-day; in spite of the growth of Modern Subjects and Science'.

² The advantages of non-aided over aided schools in this respect is much smaller for girls than boys, while all Welsh pupils stay later in aided schools than their English counterparts. Variations from region to region within England itself are small.

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produces an intellectual ferment conducive to originality as well as to clear thought. The boy who on the contrary encounters such a ferment and a tradition for scholarship winning is fired with ambition for hard work which another boy may fail to feel from lack of sufficient incentive. In a considerable number of council secondary schools,¹ a scholar may sometimes have to follow a solitary course at least in his own subject and find neither atmosphere nor teaching² nor facilities helpful to his studies. Far from having the dice loaded in his favour, he must fight against odds. In recent years, such a boy's chances have undoubtedly increased, particularly in mathematics and science. Nevertheless, without exaggeration it can still be said that in general 'only if a boy attends a Public School does he have a high chance of winning a scholarship to Oxford or Cambridge'.³ Much the same can be said of success in competition for higher posts in the Civil Service and elsewhere, and for precisely the same reasons.⁴

When social distinction and the best conditions for acquiring knowledge can be found combined in one institution, is it any wonder that many parents are ready to make the utmost sacrifices in order to purchase the advantage of so happy a combination for their sons? To some of them also, boarding school life itself seems so excellent an experience for a boy that

¹ Not all; some have highly organized senior courses and as close a connection with the ancient universities as that in 'public' schools. Manchester Grammar School, or King Edward's School, Birmingham, are notable examples. (See E. L. CLARKE, *The Recruitment of the Nation's Leaders*, Part II; *The Way to the Universities*. *Sociological Review*, vol. xxviii, No. 4, October 1936.)

² Even where members of the staff would be quite adequate for the task of coaching for Oxford and Cambridge — a circumstance which not infrequently is absent primarily because teachers have not for a long lapse of years been called upon for this purpose so that their own scholarship, at one time bright and penetrating, has grown rusty — the pressure of a time-table often makes it impossible to release them for one or two or a mere handful of boys. When curriculums are expected to be elastic enough to include even commercial and technical studies, with no addition to staffs, true scholarship cannot help being crowded out.

³ GLASS, *op. cit.* Statistical details are given by Glass.

⁴ *vide supra*, pp. 174-75 for statistics to show the predominance of 'public' school men in the front ranks of professional and administrative life.

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to sacrifice it in exchange for a day school would be a misfortune unmitigated by any counterbalancing advantages. They are fully in sympathy with the conclusion that 'the day school fails to provide the powerful feeling of loyalty to a community that is so valuable in the development of a boy's character'.¹ Boarding life, it is true, could be found outside the 'public' schools,² but at best that would in all likelihood be merely a pale imitation of what the 'public' schools could offer. If boarding school costs are to be met at all, then, why not insist upon the best, thereby securing at the same time that tone which only a 'public' school education can give? Although many of the boarding schools not represented on the Headmasters' Conference, but 'recognized' by the Board of Education, come very near, by general consent, to the true 'public' school status, and in the many lists of schools, which appear year by year from countless educational agencies, Eton or Winchester or the like would only be distinguished by an asterisk to show their connection with the Conference, yet the vast majority of families undoubtedly aim at the 'public' rather than 'Bedales' schools.³

To turn to girls' schools, the term 'public' school, although used not infrequently, has no precise meaning, largely because there is for girls no body parallel to the Headmasters' Conference. The Association of Headmistresses attempts a strict definition,⁴ but that seems to fulfil their private needs rather

¹ STEPHEN H. FOOT, *An Educational Survey - The Future of the Public Schools*, in *Nineteenth Century and After*, January 1930.

² Even grant-aided schools had 3.7% of their boys as boarders during 1936-37 (*List 60*, 1936-37). In contrast to this small fraction, however, 72.9% of boys in all non-aided schools were boarders. In 'efficient' schools, at least, girls board less often than boys. Boarders in girls' grant-aided schools in the same year sank to the negligible fraction of 1.6% of the total and even in non-aided schools little more than one half - exactly 54.7% - were boarders. Take together all the 'recognized' schools, whether aided or not, and it is at once clear that schools which have boarders are particularly popular in the South of England, the percentage of boarders in the total reaching a maximum in the South-West, followed by the South-East. This percentage drops lowest of all in parts of the North and in Wales.

³ *vide supra*, p. 174.

⁴ Article, page 9, paragraph 2. 'A "Public Secondary School" means a Secondary School in the United Kingdom or elsewhere which (1) is administered by a representative or other governing body of a public character under a

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than to meet general acceptance. Consequently, if any classification is to be made among non-aided but 'efficient' schools for girls, the most reasonable one will be according to the body responsible for government. Proprietary schools and those controlled by various religious groups bulk so much larger here than in the world of boys' schools that they may well be classified separately from schools enjoying a foundation. In 1936-37,¹ these non-aided 'efficient' schools taken together provided places for 36,655 girls,² of which 1345 (3.7%) were in orphanages and other free schools, 9598 (26.2%) in schools subject to the control of religious bodies, 9732 (26.5%) in those subject to proprietors, and 15,980 (43.5%) in schools belonging to foundations.³ Since the Great War the number of girls in

¹ i.e., according to *List 60*, 1936-37.

² A small fraction of them in mixed schools, but the great majority in solely girls' schools.

³ These figures can be compared with earlier years:

GIRLS IN 'EFFICIENT' NON-AIDED SCHOOLS

<i>School Years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Found- ation Schls.</i>	<i>% of Totl</i>	<i>Propri- etary Schls.</i>	<i>% of Totl</i>	<i>Con- trolled by Re- ligious Body</i>	<i>% of Totl</i>	<i>Or- phan- ages & Other Free Schls.</i>	<i>% of Totl</i>
<i>England</i>									
1913-14	8,134	4,694	57.7	1,658	20.3	1,448	17.8	334	4.2
1919-20	14,706	5,411	36.8	4,611	31.5	4,170	28.4	514	3.5
1936-37	34,688	14,946	43.0	9,498	27.4	8,899	25.6	1,345	3.9
<i>Wales</i>									
1913-14	285	199	69.8	—	—	86	30.2	—	—
1918-19	386	190	49.2	—	—	196	50.8	—	—
1936-37	1,967	1,034	52.4	234	12.0	699	35.5	—	—
<i>England & Wales</i>									
1913-14	8,419	4,893	58.1	1,658	19.7	1,534	18.2	334	4.0
1919-20*	15,092	5,601	37.1	4,611	30.6	4,366	28.9	514	3.4
1936-37	36,655	15,980	43.5	9,732	26.5	9,598	26.2	1,345	3.7

*1918-19 Wales; 1919-20 England.

Scheme of the Charity Commission or some other constitution of legal sanction, and has a Headmistress appointed and liable to be dismissed by the governing

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non-aided schools on the 'recognized' list has greatly increased.¹ This is no doubt mainly, although not exclusively, due to the fact that many non-aided schools have during these last twenty years found it advisable to apply for, and have secured, recognition as 'efficient'. As the standard required of a girl's education has gradually been raised, parents have become less willing to entrust that task to the poor type of private school; schools inspected by the Board of Education and found 'efficient' seem increasingly attractive.

Not only have well-established schools grown larger, and others of this type been opened, but, in addition, many private schools have qualified for recognition in order to ensure their own survival. This latter tendency is particularly reflected in the increase from 15 before the Great War to 92 in 1936-37 of 'recognized' schools for girls which are solely the responsibility of proprietors.² A growing appreciation after the War of schools of the first rank has also resulted in schools controlled by foundations accounting for 43.5% of all girls in the non-aided schools in 1936-37, compared with the smaller percentage of 37.1 in 1919-20.³ The schools for girls which above all compare with the best of 'public' schools for boys — such schools as Cheltenham Ladies' College, Roedean, and Wycombe Abbey — have gained ground because parents have become increasingly anxious since the Great War to secure for their daughters just such an élite education — this at the expense of the small non-

¹ See Tables B3 and B4.

² The total of non-aided schools on the 'efficient' list for England and Wales increased from 62 in 1913-14 to 244 twenty-three years later.

³ In calculating this figure for the whole country, the Welsh figures had to be taken for October 1st, 1918, since these were the only ones available. For England the date was October 1st, 1919. The number of girls concerned in Wales, however, amounted to no more than 190, whereas there were 5411 girls in England.

body, or which (2) has a governing board holding direct control of the school finances, and shall be deemed to include any Proprietary Secondary School, the financial administration of which is under the direct control of the governing body thereof.'

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recognized schools.¹ The foundation school group should be classified as boarding, each member accounting for an average of 174 pupils including 118 boarders, i.e. comprising two-thirds boarders and one-third day pupils. In the proprietary group boarders usually number less than half of the total in the schools, while in the third category of these non-aided schools, namely those controlled by some religious, usually Roman Catholic, organization, boarders are even fewer.²

With the meaning of 'public' school for girls elusive, and therefore with less hanging upon the particular brand of 'old school tie', and very often even to-day with far less concern for academic than social accomplishments, the particular school attended by a girl is a matter of smaller importance than that assigned to her brother. Nevertheless, a boarding school of some kind has firmly established itself as a most desirable place of education for daughters in the higher ranks of society, and certain schools are undoubtedly singled out for special favour by those who can afford to choose. Among girls', no less than boys', schools it is quite as true to-day as it was twenty years ago to say that 'there seems to be a feeling . . . that the higher the fee the better the school, "better" being understood partly in an educational, and partly in a social, sense'.³ To what degree of severity then, it must be asked, do these higher fees amount, and how far are they mitigated, for parents who cannot fully afford them, by remissions or an offer of scholarships?

¹ Nor has this source been exhausted. The flow continues, the rate growing slower, however, and it is probable that a point of equilibrium will soon be reached when the motive force of movement will disappear and supplies from private schools cease.

² In all, there were 64 of these latter schools in 1936-37, teaching approximately the same total number as the proprietary schools.

³ *Departmental Committee Report*, 1920, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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§2 PREPARATORY AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS¹

The cost of a 'public' school education for a boy is far from starting merely when he first enters that career itself at about the age of thirteen. Before that he must have attended a preparatory school for roughly four years, and, even earlier, his education should be well advanced under governesses or at small private schools. It is important, therefore, to devote some space to sorting out the tangled skein of our preparatory and private institutions and estimating their costs, before turning attention to the more familiar field of the 'public' school.

Preparatory schools, like secondary schools, may be inspected² by the Board of Education, and, if declared 'efficient', included in a section of *List 60* devoted to them. In 1936-37 there were 271 such preparatory schools with 17,120 boys. Outside the

¹ As generally understood, preparatory schools are all those where the main purpose is the preparation of pupils for entrance into, or for scholarships at, 'public' schools. (Most of them are, therefore, boys' schools.) The majority of such schools are now inspected by the Board of Education (see footnote 2), but some are not. In this text, therefore, for the purposes of clear definition, preparatory schools will be taken to mean *inspected* preparatory schools, while *all* non-inspected schools – with the exception of 'public' schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference – will be referred to as 'private'. 'Private' schools, in consequence, include some which are virtually preparatory; they also include some which are solely kindergarten, and some which border on 'public' status. The vast majority, however, have no such definite character. They are open to boys and girls equally and are preparing to undertake the training of their pupils from the earliest years up to the age of 17 or later. See p. 185 below.

² The inspection of preparatory schools started in 1914. All inspection of non-aided schools, whether post-preparatory or preparatory, however, is entirely voluntary. The Education Act of 1918 required private schools to give the Board a short description of themselves, but imposed no general principle of supervision. The Section 155 of the Act empowered the Board to make regulations under which the proprietor of a school, when required by the Board, must supply prescribed particulars. This would have enabled information to be obtained periodically. The Board, however, have never exercised this power to make regulations. (*Report on Private Schools*, 1932, *op. cit.*, p. 19.) In consequence, each school is called upon to supply information only once and there is no means whatever of keeping information up to date. 'Hence, when schools have closed, or moved or much altered in character, the Board's information is generally incorrect.' There is, therefore, no precise knowledge even of the most elementary facts such as numbers, much less of conditions, in private, i.e. non-inspected, schools.

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realm of even such slender State supervision as that ensured by bare inspection, there exists in this country a vast number of private schools of varying dimensions and character. It cannot be supposed, however, that every school excluded from the 'efficient' list is necessarily inefficient. There are boarding schools of a very exclusive character and perhaps even a few day secondary schools which might well take a place on *List 60* if they wished to apply. In addition, there are schools which cannot qualify for inclusion either as providing a full secondary course up to the School Certificate Examination and beyond, or as preparatory schools proper. They are mainly preparatory with small secondary 'tops', or else are mainly for older children, yet at the same time prepared to take the very young. Their form is not therefore suitable, even should they desire it, for inclusion among those technically 'efficient' as the Board now arranges its category of schools. Within the limits they have set themselves, however, they may nevertheless provide an education thoroughly deserving of such classification in substance, if not in letter, and quite possibly most suitable for some children. Finally, there exist private schools confined to nursery and kindergarten work, often excellent.

Whereas it would clearly be inaccurate, then, to condemn all schools neither aided nor inspected by the Board of Education or Local Education Authorities, there can be no doubt that, despite modern advance in educational theory and practice, there still remain many small private schools where accommodation, equipment, and the education given pass through all degrees of inadequacy. In 1932, the Departmental Committee writing on Private Schools could point to a proportion among them as high as 10% which could be classed as 'gravely defective'.¹ They wrote: 'the special characteristic of most of the schools to which we are here referring is the combination of

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 37. In that Report, it will be remembered, the term private schools was taken to cover all non-aided schools, whether inspected or not. *vide supra*, p. 170.

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defects of all kinds and the absence of any redeeming advantages, though there are occasional instances of scandalous deficiencies in some one respect alone . . . It may perhaps be urged in defence of these schools that they are often managed in a kindly and pleasant way, but this is no unusual merit. It does not outweigh the ill-effects of incompetent teaching; a curriculum narrowly based on poor text books; a lack of apparatus, of illustrations and general material for reading, even sometimes of sufficient pens and paper; overcrowding; bad ventilation and lighting; harmful seating; inadequate sanitary provision; little or no space for outdoor exercise, and other shortcomings of the same fundamental character.¹ Boarding schools as well as day came in for condemnation. In addition, other schools, if not so gravely defective, were found to be 'weak and inefficient', suffering mainly from unsuitable premises, lack of equipment, far too wide a range of age within one and the same class, and most serious of all, incompetent teaching. 'The staff [is recruited from] immature and inexperienced teachers who barely know the rudiments of what they have to teach. As they grow older these teachers become a further source of weakness.'²

How does it come about that such inferior schools can survive side by side with good private schools even to-day, when more enlightened attitudes to education generally prevail? 'Parents', the Departmental Committee explain,³ 'usually enter the educational market as inexpert, and often rather bewildered, buyers.' But why, it must be asked further, is the demand for private school education so insistent — a demand, that is to say, where the quality of the services offered can vary from the best to the positively harmful? Why should parents not in a position to discover whether a school is weak or strong choose, nevertheless, rather to take a leap in the dark in committing their offspring to some private school, than to entrust them to public elementary schools where they could, at least, be sure of avoiding

¹ *Report on Private Schools*, 1932, p. 38.

² *ibid.*, p. 39.

³ *ibid.*, p. 39.

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the worst excesses? Nowadays, the groundwork in particular of education in nursery and infant schools under public authorities is often more soundly laid than in a great number of small private schools. Yet, to patronize these council schools would be unthinkable for many parents. They know only too well how carefully placed must be even the earliest stages of education for those who would use education as a means of climbing the social ladder. The parent who would have his child climb highest cannot escape the fear of defeating his own end if he entrusted the early years of education to a public elementary school. To do that might leave a mark which no subsequent education, however excellent, could easily eradicate. Many such parents might desire, in any case, to inculcate in children a feeling that they are superior to their neighbours. Such 'snob' motives are naturally not the only ones prompting parents to seek the private school in the early days of their children's education. Whether mistakenly or not, they hope that their children will in that way both achieve a cleaner bill of health and avoid adopting a local accent. Still others make the choice for purely educational reasons, especially where boys are concerned. They may feel that their son might turn out to be intelligent enough to win a scholarship into a 'public' school later, but probably not unless the earliest years at school are used to the fullest advantage. Thus, certain subjects may be crammed up to a standard which many educationists consider fantastically high for boys as young as 13 or 14. By this age, boys must already have attained such a competence in languages, especially the Classics, and in mathematics that parents looking towards a scholarship tend to feel uneasy, even if other scruples are lacking, at allowing a boy to grow as old as nine years — when formal preparation might begin in a preparatory school — before considerable progress had been made in the routine of these subjects. At that age, the elementary school child knows no language except his own, and no mathematics except arithmetic. He is at that time being drilled in the

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narrow ways of most Special Place examinations, whereas the boy hoping to win a scholarship in the public schools should be drilled perhaps as intensely but on a broader front.

Private schools, however, attract many thousands of girls as well as boys — and boys, furthermore, who have no intention of passing on to preparatory schools at an early age. Their parents, anxious to give their children a 'select' education, are unable or unwilling to send them away to boarding schools. Some, therefore, fall back on a private day establishment after their children have failed to win places from a public elementary school into a local secondary or grammar school. They are intent upon seeing their children pass to some school where at least a veneer of such 'secondary' education will be given. When State secondary school doors are closed against a child, there is frequently, even to-day, no alternative within the State system but another two or three years in the unreorganized top of a public elementary school.¹ A local private school may, therefore, offer considerable attractions to those whose pride and ambition for their offspring hope for a more dignified conclusion to school days. Others choose the private school much earlier, intent above all upon avoiding the stigma of public elementary schooling. Many such parents, however, would later be quite prepared to accept a place in a State secondary school, if only such an opportunity were to hand. Being so disposed, they might enter their children for the local Special Place examination, or else for the tests set for candidates who want to qualify for fee-paying places. During 1937-38, 18,441 pupils entered the grant-aided secondary schools after previous education other than the public elementary; 17,477 of these paid full fees, 418 partial fees and 546 none.² These boys and girls represented, however, only 18.7% of the totals of all entrants to these schools during that school year. The great majority — i.e. 81.3% — came from the public elementary

¹ *vide supra*, chap. ii, pp. 136-37.

² *Report of the Board of Education for 1938*, Table 42.

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schools. Where the wicket gate of the merely qualifying test is closed, however, and all places are allotted on the basis of a single competitive examination, where, in short, 100% Special Places have been installed,¹ pupils from non-aided schools usually have small chance of gaining admission. Then, however poor their facilities for education, private schools keep these pupils during at least another three years or so.

To the comfortably off the cost of private day school education may seem small, but for those whose ambitions for educating their sons and daughters are bolder than their incomes readily justify, this cost may impose genuine stinting. The fees themselves vary with the school and the age of the child. Where youngsters under 7 are taken, the figure averages about 3 or 4 guineas a term for mornings only; from age 7 to 12, say, about 5 or 6 guineas; during the next couple of years about 7 guineas; thereafter from 8 to 10 guineas.² Private schools, however, are notorious for fees falling short of the total school bill. Not only are music, books, stationery, and other materials usually extra charges, but so may be games, drawing, French, Latin and science. If many such extras are taken, anything from 3 to 5 guineas can easily be added to the parent's terminal indebtedness. Remissions of fees are hardly ever offered officially, whether for brothers or sisters or for other reasons, although concessions may be made in private. Scholarships are virtually unknown. Not a few prospectuses from such schools, however, reveal the great extent to which they remit fees for families unable easily to find them. They advertise arrangements for the payment of fees by instalments three times a term, rather than as a lump sum in advance. Such 'assistance' costs 5% of the normal school charges.

Fees such as these were probably paid during the school year

¹ *vide supra*, chap. ii, p. 98.

² This information comes from an inspection of a large number of prospectuses from private schools throughout England and Wales. In Scotland, it may be observed, private schools are less common. Where they exist, costs are much like the English. Wales is also less favourable to private, and preparatory, schools.

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1936-37 for some 193,000 boys and girls between the ages of 5 and 11.¹ Many children, however, are transferred at an early age to schools where considerably higher expenditure must be incurred. At the age of nine, or perhaps even earlier, boys may enter preparatory schools organized solely as stepping-stones to the 'public' schools. During 1936-37 there were in England and Wales 272 boys' preparatory schools 'recognized' by the Board,² with 17,785 pupils, of whom 11,493 were boarders, while 6292 attended daily. Here, day boys paid on the average³ no less than £35 7s. od. each year in fees, while boarders paid as much as £148 10s. od. Again, scholarships in this field are to all intents and purposes unknown, but remissions are not infrequently made upon one pretext or another. Some of these are made to sons of clergymen or to those of officers in the Services, while others go to brothers at school together. More important than all these, however, are the terms of remission arranged with individual parents on the occasion of special appeals. Those who know the preparatory school world from the inside consider this habit very widespread to-day. As a result of the falling birth-rate, the number of boys at ages suitable for these schools, i.e. roughly 8-12, has already fallen substantially. In 1921 these boys amounted to 1,817,973,

¹ The Board of Education estimate that there were in all 3,563,000 children in these ages. Out of these, some 3,286,800 were in elementary, grant-aided secondary, and inspected preparatory, schools. 276,200 therefore remain to be accounted for. If 30% is allowed for children whose education is delayed, who are being educated at home, or who are too mentally or physically defective to attend school at all (following the allowance made by the Departmental Committee in their *Report on Private Schools*, *op. cit.*, p. 15) there remain approximately 193,000 whose schooling must be provided in private schools. The Departmental Committee suggested that in 1932 the total of non-aided schools in England and Wales was in the neighbourhood of 10,000, of which only 611 were inspected by the Board of Education. By 1937 when 397 non-aided schools with 73,421 pupils were inspected, the number of non-inspected schools seems still to have been more than 9000 with some 300,000 children attending. (*Educational Pamphlet*, No. 94, Board of Education.)

² 79 girls were included among the pupils in these schools. In addition, there were other 'recognized' preparatory schools where girls predominated, i.e., 36 girls' and 36 mixed preparatory schools.

³ Average 'weighted' by the number of pupils paying each fee, and information from List 60, 1936-37. So for all 'weighted' averages given in this chapter.

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but the census of 1931 enumerated only 1,754,153 such boys. Competition among preparatory schools has become acute, and the habit of offering tempting reduction in fees has by now become very general. The same struggle to keep all the desks occupied also accounts, it may be suggested, for a widespread effort, particularly among the boarding schools, to make the published fees as inclusive as possible. Even so, the item of extra charges is far from having been eliminated.

§3 COSTS IN BOARDING 'PUBLIC' AND SIMILAR SCHOOLS

At thirteen or so, the boy will enter upon his 'public' school career. To what new expenses must his father then commit himself during five years or more? In 1936-37, the average of fees charged in boarding 'public' schools amounted to £148 13s. od.¹ for residence and tuition. Such a figure, however, conceals a wide range of fees. It fails to reveal that boarders may be asked to pay anything from £78 to £245 a year. Three-quarters of all the schools in the *Public Schools Year Book* for 1938 quoted fees for boarders. Classified in terms of these fees, 34.3% charged £140 or more, 40.0% from £100 to £139, and 25.7% from £57 to £99. The greater number of this last group, however — only one-sixth of which seem to be exclusively boarding, to judge from their silence about separate charges for day pupils — should properly be classed as day schools, each taking, perhaps, a mere handful of boarders. Of the most expensive group, on the other hand, schools making no mention of separate day fees represent rather more than one-half, and among the moderately-priced schools about one-third. The cheapest group of these schools, furthermore, was, with few exceptions, State-aided, in comparison with about one-third of assisted schools in the middle, and none at all in the most exclusive, group.

¹ The average is 'weighted'.

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Taken alone, however, the fees announced by these schools may not by any means provide a reliable index of the actual expenses incurred each year by a boy under their tutelage. Extra charges, it may be argued, are neither here nor there, when the fees themselves are as high as they must be for boarding school life. That may be so for parents who can comfortably afford these fees; but where incomes allow little margin outside budgeted expenditures for education, it is important that the total figure of a school bill, if the money is to be found at all, should be known fairly accurately in advance, and that it should not involve an element which might fluctuate widely from term to term. Indeed, from information given by school authorities themselves, it would seem that those parents who may be irritated, if not embarrassed, by extra charges assuming too great proportions are a decidedly vocal group. Schools of all types openly acknowledge their appreciation of the problem by the assurance which appears in hundreds of their prospectuses, 'no unnecessary extras'. Parents themselves, it appears, will often express surprised relief when they are assured that fees include all but the most exceptional extras.

A precise statement about the extent to which extras do, in fact, contribute to school bills cannot be made, but a general analysis of the situation is possible. Among the most expensive schools the fees do, in the main, include all the academical subjects, if not also, as they do at Eton to-day, such common extras as music, private tuition, or O.T.C. (Officers Training Corps) subscription. Nevertheless, parents whose sons are enrolled in these schools must be prepared for each bill to mount up to considerably more than the advertised school fee. In one of the more expensive boarding schools, where the fees now stand at £210 per year, extras in one house during 1936-37 added to the bills by an average of 28.2% in the autumn term, 16.8% in the spring and 15.5% in the summer, or 18.8% for the whole year, i.e. a sum amounting to £39 10s. od. On the whole, these figures can probably be accepted as typifying schools

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whose boarders' fees range from £160 to £230, the extra charges consequently varying between £30 and £40 or so. But, if the ordinary subjects of tuition are for the most part included in quoted fees — in the school referred to above, ordinary tuition is open to all boys without extra payment except in music, art and carpentry — how does it happen that such high extra charges accumulate? O.T.C. subscriptions will almost invariably appear with costs for a uniform at £4 or £5, and private tuition will sometimes introduce a not inconsiderable item rising to £25. Textbooks and stationery may add as much as £6 or even more for senior boys. Magazine, library and house subscriptions, dentists' or doctors' fees, and charges for breakages or transport of luggage go to swell the total. Often more expensive still is the equipment for games, such as squash, fives, fencing, cricket, tennis, boxing; while tradesmens' bills from tailors, hatters and shoemakers may easily amount to several pounds, even when only the smallest items of dress are left for provision during term time. In the less costly schools, subjects of tuition soon begin to make their appearance outside the scope of normal school charges. Spanish, German, Russian, senior science, commercial subjects, engineering, and coaching for army examinations, as well as study rents, boxing, fencing, riding, shooting or boating may also figure among extras. In the majority of instances, compulsory extra charges add more to bills in cheaper schools, although a lower rate of charge helps to minimize this difference. To offset such charges, masters discourage boys from extravagant expenditure on less essential items, such as tradesmens' bills, or sports not provided for in the school curriculum. Private tuition also disappears as a regular feature of school life, or at least is curtailed. Few schools are immune from the pressure of parents anxious to see unpredictable charges as far as possible eliminated from school bills.

One of the most recent attempts to satisfy this demand for inclusive fees, has been the establishment of 'consolidated' charges for extras, i.e. to all intents and purposes increasing the

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set school fee, in order to guarantee to parents a freedom from expenses which may vary unexpectedly from term to term. Even so, parents may have to be prepared to meet costs of nursing illnesses. When at home, the child would naturally be tended by his mother.¹ Such exceptional situations, however, the parent who entrusts his child to a boarding school usually accepts with resignation; and if his finances are straitened he beseeches the gods that malignant microbes will not come the way of his offspring beyond their due share. Finally, parents have to face providing a boy with pocket-money each term. The average amount of this is impossible to estimate. It is a common experience for a single house-master to know that one of his charges may never have more than a few shillings, while another can report losing £10 from his cash box. It may be suspected, however, that in most boarding schools the greater number of boys will have at least £1 10s. od. or £2 each term.

All these are term-time costs. Taken together, they make it clear that despite movements now afoot to make the school fee go as far as possible in covering the full cost of the education, extra charges must inevitably be contemplated. The dimensions of these extras, however, vary considerably, just as do other expenses which arise, if only indirectly, from the school. Authoritative statements from the inside of two of the leading 'public' schools have set £70 as the minimum addition to the ordinary fee, if the full advantage is to be taken of all the sides of the school life, thus increasing Winchester's £210 to £280, and Eton's £245 to £315. The most important among these wider school costs are composed of clothing and other personal accessories a boy will need. Estimates here are also difficult but according to well-known school outfitters, the outfit for even a medium-class boarding school would cost about £4;

¹ In many schools a definite charge is made termly for sanatorium and medical attendance, but even then severe and prolonged illness which involves extra nursing and perhaps specialist attention has to be paid for as an extra. In such illnesses also, the school fees paid in advance are wasted, unless the precaution has been taken of insuring against such wastage.

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excluding sportswear, footwear, shirts and jerseys, and also caps, hats, ties and belts. Ten pounds a year would be required for replacements. Other costs, which are even less closely part of the school requirements, nevertheless impose themselves with increasing persistence if a boy is not to find himself unhappily set apart among his companions. Vacation activities are of growing importance in the boarding school world. Foreign travel, in particular, if not essential, is becoming more than ever desirable. There can be no doubt that parents who aim at educating their sons to-day on terms of virtual equality with the wealthy, must look beyond those needs immediately bound up with the school itself. Their son's training, if the boy is not to lose touch with his fellows, must embrace the wider spheres of experience.

Nor can anything said of the true boarding 'public' schools be radically changed for those other boarding schools which are inspected by the Board of Education although not represented on the Headmasters' Conference. During 1936-37, there were 34 such¹ in England and Wales, charging an average² fee to their boarders of £106. Without loss of accuracy, as far as costs are concerned, they may be classified with the less eminent and therefore less expensive of the public schools.

As for girls, in 1936-37 the average³ of fees paid by boarders in schools governed by a foundation,⁴ amounted to £144 4s. od., i.e. only some £3 10s. od. lower than in boys' boarding 'public' schools.⁵ Once more, however, it must be emphasized that within the group whose fees compose this average can be found

¹ i.e., where more than 50% of the pupils were boarders. Two of these schools were in Wales. Seven of the 32 in England were orphanages or other free schools.

² 'Weighted'. ³ *ibid.*

⁴ See p. 181. It will be remembered (see p. 183) that these schools are essentially boarding. The other types of non-aided schools for girls, i.e. those controlled by proprietors or else by religious bodies, cannot be designated as boarding-school groups. The former averaged 47 boarders in a total of 104, while in the latter the figures were 67 in 151. The 'weighted' averages of fees paid by boarders in 1936-37 were £138 1s. od. in the proprietary and £99 9s. od. where control was in the hands of a religious organization.

⁵ *vide supra*, p. 191.

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schools announcing charges as widely different as £75, on the one hand, and £200 on the other. Naturally enough, therefore, extra charges show similar wide differences between one school and another within this group. Girls', like boys', schools confirm a growing disposition in parents to resent high extra charges, preferring, if necessary, a higher school fee. In girls' schools, moreover, even where they attract the better-off, less scope is allowed than in boys' schools for extravagances by individual pupils. Girls' schools rarely follow the custom of their brothers' 'public' schools in allowing to pupils wide latitude in running up individual accounts with tradesmen. All such indulgences are kept much more rigidly under the supervision of the school authorities, who stand exhaustively *in loco parentis*. Furthermore extra tuition, often a very expensive item for boys, seems only very rarely charged for girls. Thus, only a few out of a hundred or more prospectuses for boarding schools of the foundation type quoted a charge for extra coaching. If charges for such coaching do in fact occur more often than might appear from prospectuses, such a practice is evidently much less general than it is in boys' schools.

In the most expensive girls' schools, therefore, extras add less to school bills than they do in similarly costly boys' schools. A school with fees at £189 estimates extras to average some £21 a year, i.e. an addition of some 11%. This includes the cost of books but is otherwise made up of charges for 'optional' extra subjects — music of all kinds, elocution, fencing, dancing, riding. To proceed down the list towards cheaper establishments, two changes are noticeable in the composition of extra charges as school fees fall. In the first place, compulsory extras rapidly multiply. Fees for doctors, nursing, games, swimming, library, stationery, books, materials, use of laboratories, use of house recreation rooms, and attendance at school lectures and concerts steadily make their appearance among charges which every parent must pay but which the school fee is too low to cover. In the second place, subjects are offered as 'optional'

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extras which in more expensive schools are normally taught with no additional charge to any child who desires that subject. Weaving, bookbinding, pottery, leatherwork, cooking, housewifery, painting, advanced drawing, embroidery, German, Spanish, secretarial work, remedial gymnastics, special coaching in games, ballet dancing, carpentry, add from 1 to 5 guineas a term wherever they are chosen. A school whose fees stand at £150, therefore, reports that extras, on the average, amount to £26 a year, i.e. an addition of 17.3%, whereas one with fees as low as £141 15s. od. shows an average increase by extras of no less than £32 5s. od. — 22.6% — on school bills. As much as £22 16s. od. of this latter total is made up of compulsory incidental charges, and it is agreed that the remaining margin of roughly 9 guineas allowed for optional extras was probably much lower than that appropriate to many girls, since it only accounted for 1 subject at 3 guineas a term.

Furthermore, for girls no less than boys, all the costs of a boarding school education do not by any means end when the school bills are paid. Clothes, especially, constitute another big item, and, if anything, a girl usually requires more to be spent on her clothes than her brother. Her school outfit may cost £50 or more, and require at least £10 a year for replacement costs.

§4 SCHOLARSHIPS AND REMISSION OF FEES IN BOARDING SCHOOLS

To what extent, it must next be asked, is it possible to secure in all these post-preparatory boarding schools a remission of fees, whether in whole or part? Schools accepting State grants, it will be remembered,¹ are required to offer a prescribed number of free places to boys from public elementary schools. These boys would also be eligible for maintenance grants from L.E.A.s. But in the non-aided schools what facilities are there? Some

¹ Chap. i, p. 76, footnote 2, and chap. ii, p. 93, footnote 2.

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provision of scholarships is always found in endowed schools: but for parents in any difficulty over the financing of education, the important question is how far these scholarships will go towards meeting aggregate school charges. At Eton, they would find that boys fortunate enough to secure election to one of the 70 King's Scholarships¹ would be charged an annual fee varying from nothing at all up to £150, according to their parents' incomes and liabilities, and a games subscription of £5. At Winchester, also, it is possible for certain boys awarded scholarships² to win a totally free education, and even for less favoured scholars, charges are moderate. They are expected to pay £31 a year, instead of the normal £210, and even this amount is relieved to roughly one scholar in six where family circumstances seem to merit it. Where there is real necessity — about 1 scholar in 12 — still further help is given in the shape of assistance towards payment for books and other expenses. If the need to find £20 or so a year for incidentals — the provision of suitable clothes and equipment, to say nothing of vacation activities — would even then keep the poor man's son outside the ranks of 'college men'³ at Winchester,⁴ a man with a moderate income should well be able to support his son in such a status. Non-specialists among professional men, for example, are predominantly represented among the parents of these scholars.⁵

The 'true' value of scholarships at other boarding schools ranges all the way from one extreme to the other. If any typical

¹ Normally about 12 fall vacant each year.

² There are 72 such scholarships in total.

³ i.e., scholars.

⁴ Apart from a standard in the scholarship examination so high that only those properly trained for 4 years or more in a preparatory school can usually hope to compete. The school has, however, received one or two boys from the hands of State-aided secondary schools. The scholar must be under 14 at the time of entrance for the examination.

⁵ It must be noted, however, that neither at Winchester nor at Eton, nor at most of the 'public' schools, is any exclusive restriction placed upon the income of parents of scholarship boys. Such parents may be wealthy men. In that case, they may voluntarily choose to refund the scholarship money, while retaining for their sons the title of scholarship-holders on account of the prestige conferred. In Winchester about 1 in 12 of scholars belong to parents who thus refund their scholarship moneys.

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example can be given, perhaps it might be a school of 320 boys where the fees are £153 a year with 20 scholarship holders in residence at any one time, five being awarded each year. Scholarships are tenable for the whole of a boy's school career, one being worth £80 a year, six £60, five £50 and eight £30. For the most part, such scholarships as exist are open to all ranks and professions, but some schools do impose restrictions. Scholarships may be endowed for specific purposes. Thus, one school where the fees are £165 a year offers 10 to 12 open scholarships, but in addition 3 for the sons of clergymen of the Church of England, 2 for sons of barristers, and 2 for those of officers or ex-officers of H.M. Forces. Various branches of the Church and the Services most frequently come in for special consideration. Where remunerative foundations are lacking, however, scholarships of whatever kind are usually scarce. This is often true, for example, of boarding schools for boys outside the jurisdiction of the Headmasters' Conference. The majority of these are modern schools established by private funds, and two or three 'Governors' scholarships generally represent the maximum of such assistance.

The same is true of many girls' schools, and an establishment which can count thirty 'scholars' among its 300 boarders, in addition to 25 foundationers whose education is completely free, figures as a notable exception, especially since these scholars are awarded no less than £40 a year towards defraying fees as low as £105. For the great majority, three or four scholarships are the most offered each year and some of them are of a mere nominal value — e.g. £20 in a school with fees of £165 a year. A few awards can be discovered which do undoubtedly make a handsome contribution towards meeting the school costs, the best of these amounting to £150 a year in a school where fees stand at £189 — a maximum value however only awarded where parents' circumstances appear to justify such generosity. In girls' schools indeed, 'means tests' seem to be applied more often than not to candidates for scholarships. If so, the value of

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scholarships as actually held may be much less than the maximum figures invariably quoted in school prospectuses. Altogether, there can be little doubt that the chances of scholarships at a boarding school are considerably smaller for a girl than for her brother, notwithstanding the greater competition which the latter must in all likelihood face. His scholarship also would be more likely to make a really substantial contribution to the expenses of education.

Scholarships are not, however, the only recourse open to a parent for reducing the burden of school costs. Remission of fees may be conceded for a variety of reasons. Before details of various schemes are considered, it must be emphasized at once that never, under any circumstances, do the leading 'public' schools for boys make such offers to parents. In their eyes remissions of fees freely advertised in school prospectuses are not to be interpreted as gestures of generosity made with sympathetic insight into the peculiar difficulties under which, in paying for their offspring's education, some parents must labour. On the contrary, they regard these offers as nothing less than pure advertisement by schools which thereby confess their insecurity and their need for employing commercial methods in order to attract pupils. The 'best' schools on the contrary will offer assistance to boys already in the school when parents fall upon ill luck. They may then go as far as to undertake complete responsibility for a boy's further education. They may also be prepared to offer substantial help to families traditionally associated with the school if reduced circumstances render the school fees prohibitive. But all this they regard as very different from inventing some pretext in order to attract new families by the bait of reduced fees.

A completely uncompromising attitude upon this question, however, is probably maintained to-day by a diminishing number of schools either for boys or girls. For largely as a result of the falling birth-rate, many of these schools, even among those usually considered totally immune from any such problem, have

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discovered that maintenance of their numbers is not by any means to be taken for granted.¹ Once the difficulty arises, however, they soon turn their thoughts to competition with other schools and hence, in the present mood, to ways of reducing fees. Here, concessions for brothers or sisters at school together must be given first place. According to announcements in prospectuses, roughly one-third of boarding 'public' schools for boys, now follow such a habit. Girls' schools seem even more open to persuasion: even the most expensive among them announce their readiness to consider applications for reductions, although they make no specific offers either for sisters contemporary at school or for any other reason. Many boys' schools also make vague statements concerning the modifications in charges they are prepared to make to parents with more than one child at school. Where precise offers are made by schools for either sex, they show a wide range. Among a couple of hundred prospectuses, the most generous reduction in relation to fees amounted to 15% on the total fees of two brothers, but that was exactly three times as great as the reduction offered nine times out of ten to both girls and boys. The large majority, in fact, suggest lowering by 5% the total fees payable for two brothers or sisters. At a school where fees amount to £150, for example, this concession would mean a parent's being exempted £15 on his bill of £300 for two children, or £22 10s. od. if he were amongst the rare folk who nowadays have three children at school together. A few schools might increase this allowance by £1 or so, but others, on the other hand, would lower it to half the above figures, i.e. to 2½%. Still others withhold their offers altogether until the third child joins his brothers or sisters in school. Then, a reduction of about 10% on the total bill is commonly promised. But with modern small families, how many in a school would benefit from such a scheme as this? To find even two sisters or brothers at school together is rare enough nowadays.

¹ See below pp. 210-212.

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Apart from help given to parents who fall on bad times after entering their children at school, and apart from concessions given for brothers or sisters as outlined above, parents may sometimes look for special terms in view of their particular profession or religious creed. Among the latter, clergymen of the Church of England undoubtedly are most favoured. Not only can they count on special establishments where, in comparison with the run of boarding schools, fees are unusually low; but beyond those, many other schools are willing to accept substantially lower than the usual fee from clergymen.¹ It is difficult to estimate the value of such reductions, since, apart from schools where the quoted fees normally apply to clergymen's children, the most usual practice is to invite special application for reduction where necessary. These parents, it is safe to say, can always provide a boarding school training for their offspring more cheaply than any other classes, apart from scholarship holders. In schools not specially reserved for them, they could in all likelihood anticipate a reduction of between 10% and 20%. Thus, with a school fee of £150, their bills, apart from extras, would amount to £120-£135. In exceptional circumstances they might be more fortunate still, but much greater reduction than this would not be everyone's experience. Members of other religious orders, e.g. Roman Catholics, Methodists, Friends, would tend to look for a lighter burden of fee-payment for their children's education, not in the form of remissions afforded them in any school chosen at random, but rather in schools set up especially for them by their own organizations. Thus, girls boarding in non-aided schools organized by religious authorities,² chiefly Roman Catholic, pay an average fee of £99 9s. od. a year — in contrast with the £144 4s. od. paid in

¹ E. L. CLARKE (*The Recruitment of the Nation's Leaders*, Part 1, *Sociological Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 258) found from the *Public Schools' Year Book* for 1933 that out of 47 boarding 'public' schools (viz. those established after 1840) 20 made reductions for the sons of clergy. In contrast, only nine offered reductions for sons of men in the Services, while medical men were specially mentioned for remissions only once.

² *vide supra*, p. 183.

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foundation schools,¹ or £138 1s. od. in proprietary schools. In most of these schools it is true that the advantage of low fees is enjoyed by many not members of a given religious body. Nevertheless, preference is always open to members in filling vacancies, and non-members occupy only a minority of places. In the Friends' schools, non-members when admitted must pay fees between £15 and £30 higher than those paid by Friends. Methodists, like the Church of England, reserve the privilege of specially reduced fees — by about 10% — for the children of their ministers. The laity must fend for themselves.

Assistance for professional men or officers in the Services is a matter of much less certainty.² Everything depends upon policies in individual schools as to whether a doctor or lawyer, teacher, educationist, or officer in the Forces can look for some remission of fees if his income is limited in comparison with his commitments. In any case, it is probably useless for him to look for anything very substantial. Apart from special scholarships,³ 10% of fees would represent a generous remission, the figure more often sinking to 5%.

§5 EFFECT OF EXPENSIVE SCHOOLING ON THE BIRTH-RATE

In short, then, hardly less than £200 a year is required on the average to keep a boy at a boarding school from 13 to 18,⁴ and perhaps as much at a preparatory school from 8 to 13. Something approaching the same figure is needed to educate a girl in most boarding schools, although the large number governed by religious bodies, charging to boarders an average fee rather less than £100, do provide a cheaper education for many girls. The costs of a boarding school life, in fact, are more than the

¹ *vide supra*, p. 195.

² *vide supra*, p. 202, note 1.

³ *vide supra*, p. 199.

⁴ The annual cost is seldom noticeably affected by the age of the boy, or of his sister in a girls' school. Lower fees for younger children are the rule in only the smallest minority of boarding schools.

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entire wages of the vast majority of working men; they would also constitute a very high proportion of the normal earnings of wide classes of white-collared workers and even of professional men. In 1935, only 4% of personal incomes in the United Kingdom exceeded £500 per annum, while incomes above £1000 represented as small a fraction as 1.55% of the population.¹ Yet it is these expensive educations that are generally regarded as almost indispensable for gaining distinction in later life. Every effort must be made to buy the privilege for a child.

If so, it is important to ask whether the cost is in any measure responsible for some of our small families. Undoubtedly, the answer must be that it is. Some families, it is true, are bred in the boarding school tradition, and cannot think in terms unrelated to it. To many of these, no doubt, the cost is trifling and would not be in the least likely to hinder the birth of four or more children. But what of those who, while similarly minded, lack the income? In addition, there are those who were not themselves so educated, but who have come to consider a boarding, preferably a 'public', school essential for a boy, and a good boarding school highly desirable, if less indispensable, for a girl. As they have witnessed the higher education provided in State schools becoming accessible to larger and larger numbers in the community, they have conceived an ambition to see their own offspring enjoying all the benefits of education in one of the less accessible boarding establishments. Or else, having themselves risen into professional occupations through these very State schools, they then desire for their sons and daughters an education even better than their own. The most aspiring father of all covets for his offspring one out of a dozen or so illustrious names. But a large majority of such men form part of that 2.45% of the population whose incomes exceed £500 but fall short of £1000. How can they afford to pay at the rate of £200 a year for each child's education? A man who can anticipate no more than £800 or £900 a year when his children

¹ *vide supra*, chap. i, page 19, footnote 1.

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will be ready for school cannot afford to educate five or six in this way. What course is left to him, then, if he is determined upon this education but to see that he does not have such a family?

There can be no doubt that the families by which £400 a year is the maximum expenditure that can be budgeted for education and which cannot therefore guarantee a 'public' school for their children without deciding to limit their family to one only, or at most two, must by now form a group of considerable dimensions. Members of the professions outside those in the foremost ranks who enjoy really high incomes, are notably represented among these struggling families. The toll upon their birth-rate is correspondingly remarkable. But, it may be asked, among such an intelligent and eminently scholarship-winning group as this, does not the chance of assistance through scholarships go far towards mitigating any depressing effect of school costs upon the size of families? Unfortunately not, for even the ablest of parents can have no assurance whatever in advance, especially before a child is born, that their offspring will turn out to be scholarship winners. The uncertainty is overwhelming. No parent in earnest about his educational intentions, therefore, would dream of risking their frustration by trusting to the slender thread of scholarships. For not only are an individual child's capacities altogether unpredictable, but in any case it has been shown that the scholarships available in boarding schools are both singularly scanty in relation to the aggregate of places in these schools, and are also for the most part pitched ridiculously low in comparison with school costs:¹ the same holds good for remissions of fees upon one pretext or another outside the scope of scholarships.

Where boarding school life is insisted upon in the face of incomes which barely permit such extravagance, small families inevitably result. Even then, their self-appointed task may

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 197-200.

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exact still further sacrifices and economies. As someone has said, 'they beg, borrow, toil [and] insure themselves',¹ that their children may attend the school of their choice. Insurance, in particular, often attracts just such families to the educational policies now generally available. The policies most often used for education are known as children's option policies, which insurance companies have not in fact specifically designed for education at all. They offer parents deferred assurance for their children, which is to come into force with certain options when the child reaches the age of twenty-one or later. They are only able to yield a return to parents well before that age, thus to fulfil a genuine function as educational insurance, by the issuance of an agreed surrender value, sometimes to be drawn in three or four instalments.² This surrender value is equal to the premiums paid except the first, the total being increased by $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ compound interest. It might be thought, therefore, that the parent would stand to gain little by such a policy. For could he not easily accumulate these funds elsewhere at $2\frac{3}{4}\%$ and at the same time avoid the loss of a sum equal to at least one year's premium and often more?

Probably so; but there remain reasons which influence parents to decide upon insurance. In the first place, subject to statutory limitations, the premiums paid rank for abatement of income tax. Although therefore, for the purpose of receiving four annual instalments of £100 each when his child is between 14 and 18, for example, a man might have to pay annual premiums of £28 17s. od. from the child's birth,³ yet if the rate of income tax stood even as high as 5s. 6d. in the £, his net annual outlay would be reduced to £20 18s. 3d.; at 7s. 6d. in the £ to £18 os. 7d. With income tax as high as this, the saving is substantial enough to offset other financial disadvantages involved in insurance with a surrender value in view. In the

¹ In a review of Mr. C. M. Picciotto's book on St. Paul's, *Times Educational Supplement*, May 6th, 1939.

² See *Children's Assurance Tables*, STONE and COX, 1936, p. 5.

³ According to the rates quoted by the firm doing most of this business.

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second place, by payment of an additional premium, a father can provide for premiums to cease in case of his death and yet for the full payment to be made by the insurance company at the proper time. In the third place, many parents feel happier if they have a fund definitely accumulating in the child's name,¹ which can, therefore, be earmarked in the family finances for education. If the twenty-odd pounds were merely added each year to general family savings, there could be no guarantee that the money would not be spent on other objects, so that when the time arrived money for education might not be available. Naturally, those who ask for a surrender value for education may still use the money for other purposes. The point is, however, that parents who are serious in their anxiety to accumulate funds to pay for expensive educations can find in these insurance policies a way of assisting themselves. Precisely how far they do this, there is no means whatever of knowing; but if non-statistical evidence may be relied upon, the conclusion can be hazarded that this habit is gaining in popularity, especially among the professional classes.

§6 DAY 'PUBLIC', IN COMPETITION WITH BOARDING 'PUBLIC', SCHOOLS

In recent years, however, especially during and following the Great Depression, there has been a growing tendency for parents seeking a social or educational distinction for their offspring to accept as satisfactory the solution offered by more superior day schools, where such can be found, or by day attendance at a boarding school. Boys in day 'public' schools in England and Wales, for example, increased from 16,576 in the autumn term of 1920 to 21,167 in 1924 and then, after remaining fairly steady for about seven years, moved up to 23,775 in

¹ It is for this very reason also that an endowment assurance on the father's life lacks the psychological appeal of a child's option policy as described above, despite the fact that the former would have considerable advantages over the latter.

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the corresponding term in 1932. After that date these numbers took tremendous forward strides so that at the beginning of the new school year in 1934 boys in day 'public' schools numbered no fewer than 35,232, and two years later the figure had advanced to 38,712. Statistics of boarding 'public' schools during these same years have a different story to tell. These also experienced substantial increases in the early Twenties — from 27,562 in October 1920 to 33,000 in the same month of 1926. During another five years or so they added a few hundreds to their numbers; but then, between the school year which began in the autumn of 1930 and that two years later, their pupils fell by almost as much as the day 'public' schools had gained during this period. In another two years, the boarding schools recovered slightly to 32,764 but meanwhile the day 'public' schools had increased so rapidly that for the first time — in 1934 — they were responsible for more boys than the boarding schools.¹ Between 1934 and 1936, the boarding schools recovered another 1249 of their former losses, but the day 'public' schools fared even better during these two years, and thereby increased their advantage, by adding 3480 more boys to their registers.² It has to be remembered, furthermore, that day boys may also be admitted to many of the boarding 'public' schools, and significantly enough the number of such boys has also increased.³ In the school year 1930-31 they numbered 5364 in English public schools, whereas six years later they had reached

¹ This change may have occurred in 1933, but accurate figures are not available for that year since the Board of Education now publishes *List 60* only in every other year. The figures always refer to October 1st in the year quoted.

² See Tables B for further details of numbers in these and other boys' schools in England and in Wales separately as well as in the country as a whole.

It should perhaps be emphasized that one or two of the boarding schools nowadays will blame loss or slow growth of numbers on to their junior schools when those figures are included in the totals. Numbers in these junior schools apparently reveal an even less healthy condition than their senior departments. Curtailment of the years spent in a junior boarding school is given as an explanation of this, as well as the low birth-rate. Whatever the reason for this tendency, however, it scarcely makes comparison between the day and boarding schools less significant, because day schools also may include junior schools.

³ The day 'public' schools also provide for boarders, but these latter have not increased.

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an aggregate of 7831.¹ They had increased their numbers in fact by almost one-half (i.e. by 46%), while boarders in the same boarding schools had actually decreased by 5.9% — i.e. dropping from 27,229 to 25,634.²

To conclude from these statistics that day attendance at school is gaining in favour in comparison with boarding, might, however, be challenged. From year to year, it might be argued, day schools of the grammar-school type are admitted to the Headmasters' Conference, so that totals in day 'public' schools may be suddenly swollen without reflecting any change whatever in the attitude of parents to day schools as a class. Thus, in 1936, it might be pointed out with accuracy, six schools which had previously been classed among grammar schools, appeared on the Headmasters' Conference for the first time. They added as many as 2618 to the quota of boys in day 'public' schools. In addition, two others, formerly classed as boys' private (i.e. non-inspected) schools, similarly joined the ranks of day 'public' schools bringing 845 boys with them. Such an objection evidently deserves serious consideration. It is true that the Headmasters' Conference is by no means a static body

¹ The two boarding 'public' schools in Wales (Christ's College, Brecon, and Rydal School, Colwyn Bay) catered for 38 day boys in 1934-35 and 67 in 1936-37.

² The 1938 statistics now available for England (not for Wales) show that, perhaps under the influence of depression conditions, 'public' schools of both types have lost pupils while 'Grammar', 'Bedales' and council-governed schools have gained. As between the boarding and day establishments among the 'public' schools themselves, the statistics (Table B2) might seem to suggest that the trend noticeable from 1928 to 1936, whereby the latter gained on the former, had been reversed. Day schools, however, lost a mere 428 pupils more than the boarding schools in this group. There is, moreover, evidence that a great part of the losses experienced by day 'public' schools during the last few years must be traced to the gradual emptying, and often eventual closing, of their boarding houses. In fact, if comparison were made, not between the two types of school, but between boarders and day boys in both types taken together, it would undoubtedly appear that the latter have not by any means lost to the former, although they have not recently gained at the rate noticeable from 1928 to 1936. In any case, it would be unwise to assume a change in trend on so numerically insignificant a basis and during a period when evidently a more powerful influence was acting upon both pillars of the 'public' school structure alike. It may well be, furthermore, that smaller families among 'public' school classes are by now beginning to influence the statistics to such an extent as to mask all other tendencies.

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and that most years witness some change or other in its membership.¹ Those changes, however, cannot be divorced from movements in the general demand for a 'public' school education. If that demand increased so as to press upon the capacity of existing schools, would not an extension of frontiers to include new schools seem a very natural policy? Boys' schools anxious for an invitation to be included are always plentiful.²

The upward swing of numbers in schools which can be classed among the day 'public', then, can fairly be taken to reflect a new inclination on the part of certain parents to look more favourably than formerly upon day schools or upon day boys in boarding schools. Ambitions for education are finding satisfaction in this way. Unquestionably, in latter years the day boy's prestige has gradually heightened until his status has lost its inferiority in all but a few schools. But in case a critic should still object that the statistics given show, nevertheless, a distorted picture of the growth of day boys, it will perhaps be well to follow the fortunes among fixed groups of schools, on the one hand boarding 'public', on the other hand day 'public' — as, for example, they were classified in 1934. To do this would reveal that boys in the day 'public' schools, after fluctuating around 30,000 from 1921 to 1930, had by 1932 swollen to 32,282, by 1934 to 34,814, and by 1936 to 35,589.³ In the boarding 'public' schools chosen, meanwhile, the 34,215 on their registers in 1924 rose slightly to 34,905 in 1930, but thereafter sank to 32,795 in 1932 and to 32,764 in 1934. A recovery of 632 by 1936 was not enough to prevent their falling still further behind the day

¹ Including, sometimes, losses where, for example, a council-governed school changes its headmaster. (*vide supra*, footnote 2, p. 172.)

² If evidence of this is needed, it can perhaps be found in the establishment of a list of 'eligible' schools in 1932 with 16 members, growing to 23 in the very next year, and to 39 in 1937 when the Conference accepted the headmasters of all these schools into full membership and raised the maximum for full membership from 150 to 200.

³ Up to 1932, these figures come from GLASS, Opportunity and the Older Universities, *op. cit.*, Table III. The remainder were gathered from List 60 and directly from the non-inspected schools not on this List.

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schools — the difference between the two then reaching 2193. Taken as groups, while the day schools have become more and more crowded, the boarding schools have lost pupils. Whichever way the problem is approached, in fact, and even when the maximum of allowance is made for statistical distortion, the same result emerges. The ranks of boys in our day 'public' schools have been gaining recruits,¹ while boarding 'public' schools have been tending to lose ground.

It must not, however, be assumed that every day 'public' school has shared in a general progress, nor that the total of pupils in every boarding school has dwindled. On the contrary, the prestige which attaches to many of the front rank of boarding 'public' schools has guaranteed a permanent competition for places within them. Enrolments in most of them have, therefore, fluctuated little from year to year, and in some have even made definite advances. Only Harrow, among the most eminent schools, has suffered significant losses, its location perhaps militating against the prestige it has inherited. Once a country school, it is now surrounded by the sprawling fingers of suburban London, and may for that reason be suffering at a time when supply threatens to outrun demand in boarding 'public' schools. Naturally enough, many of the cheapest of boarding 'public' schools² have also held their own, or even recorded substantial gains in numbers in the past ten years or so. These less expensive boarding schools have been fortunate in benefiting from a certain influx into the boarding school world of families never previously represented there. Having limited severely the size of their family circles, some parents have succeeded in securing an entrance for their children into the boarding school world, although they themselves and all their forebears had remained outside it. For the most part, however, these parents could reach their coveted goal only by choosing one of the less expensive boarding schools.

¹ See footnote (2), p. 209 for the recent apparent reversal of this trend.

² Where fees are not above £130 a year.

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Outside these two groups of schools — at the two extremes as far as expense is concerned — a majority of boarding 'public' schools have experienced losses in recent years.¹ The greater part of these losses must no doubt be traced to the influence, unmodified either by prestige or the influx of new recruits, of fewer sons among the established public school classes. But a new necessity imposed by financial stringency during depression and subsequent years, combined with a new readiness to choose day schools instead of boarding, has with equal certainty led to losses on the part of many boarding schools.

Smaller families have naturally not failed to leave their mark upon day 'public' schools as well as upon boarding, and some of the former have also found their numbers shrinking. In others of them, however, this contracting tendency has been more than offset by an opposite one. New families, whether those which by dint of economies, especially in their size, have reached up to the day 'public' schools, after previous association with the less favourably regarded council secondary schools; or those forced by curtailment of income to seek cheaper education than they might otherwise have contemplated; or, finally, those turning from boarding to day education, not under pressure from external circumstances, but under the conviction that a day education, having now increased so much in prestige, would satisfy all their needs, have all helped to save most of the day 'public' schools from the unhappy decline which has already overtaken many boarding schools. New recruits to the latter there have also been,² but the volume of this flow has been altogether too minute to help very much in saving most of those schools from the devastation inevitably resulting from the dwindling numbers in families traditionally associated with them. The flow into day 'public' schools, however, has reached substantial proportions, just as it has into girls' day schools of a type distinguished from council secondary schools.

¹ Notably where the fees fall within the limits, £130-£185.

² *vide supra*, p. 211, i.e., into the cheapest boarding schools.

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An obvious reason why attendance as a day pupil has been more than ever serving as a counter-attraction to boarding, and is likely to continue so, lies in the difference between the costs of the two types of education. Contrast the £200 or so a year which parents must usually be prepared to spend upon a son at a boarding school, or even the £150 which might suffice for a daughter, with the normal cost of educating a child who lives at home, and no further argument will be needed to show why most parents will ask themselves very seriously whether a boarding school is the only approach to the social and educational advantages desired for a child.

Although day boys at certain really first-rank boarding schools may have to pay fabulous amounts for tuition fees — as much as £93 in one such school¹ — charges of that nature are exceptions and are paid by a minority of parents. On the average,² tuition fees amount to £39 16s. od. for day boys in boarding 'public' schools and to £20 5s. od. for boys in day 'public' schools.³ Girls in direct-grant schools,⁴ which as a group correspond most closely to the day 'public' schools for boys, pay an average of £20 16s. od. In non-aided proprietary schools for girls this figure rises to £22 18s. od. and to £31 in non-aided denominational schools.

The difference between day and boarding costs, however, does not end with the published school fees. Extra charges, it has already been shown,⁵ bulk very heavy in many boarding schools, whereas parents of day pupils seldom find extras anything like as large, especially where the school is primarily, if not solely, for day boys. The great majority of these day schools, in any case, receive grants from public funds, and are consequently bound to include in the tuition fee all subjects of instruction

¹ *vide supra*, footnote 1, p. 173.

² Weighted, as are all the averages quoted here. They are calculated from *List 60* 1936-37.

³ In day schools of the 'Bedales' group (*vide supra*, footnote 2, p. 174) to £22 3s. od.

⁴ See chap. ii, p. 93.

⁵ *vide supra*, pp. 192-97.

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covered in the curriculum, as well as the use of all equipment and stationery, apart from mathematical instruments and text books.¹ About one-half of all direct-grant schools also make no extra charge for textbooks; similarly a certain number, although a minority, of day 'public' schools. Where they must be paid for, text books cost from £3 to £5 a year for most children until they arrive at advanced work, when as much as £7 may often be needed. For boys, O.T.C. costs may also be almost as expensive in day as in boarding schools, but otherwise only small charges have to be met, as for the school magazine, membership of school societies, swimming, boxing, library. Music lessons may be taken at school and prove expensive. Upon children in non-council secondary schools, then, parents must usually expect to spend something like £8-£10 a year in 'extra' school expenses. In addition, school uniforms must invariably be provided, but at a cost which is considerably lower than what is necessary to equip a child for the very cheapest boarding school; for a girl, £4 or so a year, and for her brother even less. Naturally, these figures are in all likelihood correspondingly higher where fees much exceed the averages quoted;² but, even then, they seldom equal the 'extra' costs of boarding school life. Before a final reckoning is made, however, between day and boarding school costs, it must be remembered that daily attendance at a 'public' or other superior type of school very often involves a considerable journey to and from the child's home. Travelling costs must then be set in the balance against the day school, adding a weight for which a mean figure can hardly be given. Probably it rarely rises much above £10 a year at the most, unless the cost of meals taken at school are included with this item, when as much again may be involved. When every bill has been paid, parents, whose sons and daughters at least return to sleep at home each night, must budget, on the average, for only about one-quarter as much for schooling as those whose children do

¹ *vide supra*, chap. ii, footnote 2, page 127.

² *vide supra*, p. 211.

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not. With school fees averaging out at £21 and £22,¹ £40 a year, in all likelihood, covers inclusive school expenses for the vast majority. Even at the more costly 'public' schools, expenses for a day boy's education can usually be covered by £75 or so.

As for the chances of parents' reducing expenses either through scholarships or other less formal channels of remission, the latter, apart perhaps from remission for brothers or sisters contemporaries at school, play little part in the policy of day schools, while scholarships, on the other hand, are both more numerous and more valuable in relation to costs than in boarding schools. Where grants are received from the Board of Education or else from L.E.A.s, a guaranteed percentage of free places must be reserved for boys from public elementary schools.² But that is not all: most of these schools can offer full scholarships, often valuable enough to cover the entire costs of education, yet without any conditions attached concerning the income or circumstances of a child's parents. Unquestionably, the chance of winning a worth-while scholarship is substantially higher in the day, than in the boarding 'public', school, while costs are at the same time notably lower.

Under such circumstances, then, and granted that no longer must the day boy, whatever his accomplishments and achievements, inevitably suffer a certain handicap in prestige, is it any wonder that, where the opportunity offers, parents seem to have been increasingly choosing day in preference to boarding places in the 'public' schools? Naturally, the choice is not for every parent. A boarding school open to day boys or a day 'public', as distinct from a council secondary, school, is far from available in every district, especially outside the towns. Where neither is available, parents are driven to the expense of a boarding school to find a social environment superior to that found in the local council secondary schools. It is no surprise, therefore, to discover substantial evidence that many parents nowadays are strongly influenced in choosing the position of their home by the

¹ *vide supra*, p. 213.

² *vide supra*, p. 173.

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neighbourhood of a school of 'public', or equivalent, standard where children would be accepted as day scholars. An interesting example is that of a man whose daily work lies in London, but who settled first in Oxford in order to send his sons every day to the Dragon School, a well-known preparatory school, and later in Bedford, where they continued their education as day boys at the 'public' school there.¹ How often considerations of schooling influence family habits to that extent, it is difficult to tell. But it is impossible to dispute the fact that, where a day school which can offer the distinction of social and educational advantages such as those given by 'public' schools is accessible to the home, even parents with the highest of ambitions are often being induced to entrust their offspring to such training, rather than multiply the costs of education three or four times in order to send them to boarding schools.

§ 7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In order to collect the rather diverse findings of this chapter, summary Tables are added on the following pages. After assembling the expenses connected with training in various types of independent school, the Table correlates total expenses with the standing which a parent may reasonably expect to be conferred on his child by passing through the school, or succession of schools, in question. The significance of the 'standing' or 'social caché' conferred by each 'representative career', while comparable in its effect on parental behaviour with the prospects which were correlated in the preceding chapter with representative careers through the State educational system, must nevertheless be regarded as somewhat different in character. It depends more intimately on the reputation of the individual school, less on the exact type of employment which can be traced more or less directly to passage through a given type of school. Among the social circles whose children frequent

¹ This case was described to us in correspondence.

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the independent schools, personal and family influence or connections count far more than among the poorer classes in finding openings for young people. Again, the minority of ex-scholars of the independent schools who go on to universities may be in a position to acquire a further caché, probably unconnected with that which their schooling has conferred on them, and perhaps more influential. A boy or girl, for example, whose standing conferred by schooling remained only fair, might, by going up to Oxford or Cambridge, become invested with one almost comparable to the pedestal obtainable, during school days, at the more renowned public schools.

ANNUAL COSTS OF EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS, 1936-37

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>Fees</i>	<i>Other School Costs¹</i>
Private Day	(for pupils under 7) £ 9 9s. od. — £12 12s. od. (for pupils aged 7-12) £15 15s. od. — £18 18s. od. (for pupils aged 13-14) £20 os. od. — £22 os. od. (for pupils aged 15 and onwards) £25 os. od. — £31 10s. od.	£10 os. od. £12 10s. od. £15 os. od. £20 os. od.
Preparatory (day)	Average of £35 7s. od.	£15
„ (boarders)	„ „ £148 10s. od.	£40
Boys 'Public' (day)	Average of { £20 5s. od. [£6-£93 limits]	£15-£40
„ (boarders)	Average of { £148 13s. od. [£78-£245 limits]	£40-£100
Girls 'Public' (day) ²	Average of { £20 16s. od. [£6 6s.-£32 5s. limits]	£15-£35
„ (boarders) ³	Average of { £144 4s. od. [£75-£200 limits]	£30-£90

¹ The item 'other school costs', together with the fees of private day schools, are of necessity estimates. They have been designed to represent the bulk. Other fees are either precise outside limits drawn from cheap or expensive establishments, or weighted averages. Figures of totals are drawn from annual figures in the Table. The category 'other school costs' covers all additional expenses involved by attendance at the school - extras, uniform, sports equipment, travelling to and from school, meals at school - but does not include maintenance at home, during vacations, or cost of essential clothing.

² This category refers to direct-grant schools, but is closely representative of proprietary, and denominational, non-aided schools.

³ This category refers to foundational non-aided schools.

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numerically, only a small contribution towards solving the national problem of falling fertility.¹ By acting as a deterrent to other parents, however, either to those who are constantly being drawn into the circle of 'public'-school families, or to a still wider group if, in the event of a future extension of free State-secondary education, the desire for social exclusiveness led to a wholesale exodus into the independent-school world, an abandonment of excessive boarding costs to-day by the present small group of families might have important repercussions for the country as a whole.² *A fortiori*, it might be expected that the national fertility would benefit even more widely if the general level of costs in independent-school training (not merely through a voluntary desertion of boarding expenses by parents) were lowered. Although the circumstances of families which seek schooling outside the State system are in general more easy than those who have to be content with keeping their children inside it, nevertheless the charges of independent schools are so markedly in excess³ of the State schools' that, without a shadow of doubt, they exact economies which take the form of restricting the family circle and the number of educable units.

¹ On the one hand, the number of children in independent schools is small as compared with those comprised, at any time, within the State post-primary system: in October 1936, for example, day pupils in the English and Welsh grant-aided secondary schools were about 10 times as many as the boarders in the 'recognized' non-aided secondary schools (*List 60*, Board of Education, 1936-37). But, on the other hand, if family limitation had gone much further in the independent-school world than in the State secondary-school world, the number of *families* represented in each of the two categories of school might be far more equal. In fact, however, the statistical studies referred to in the preceding footnote indicate that family limitation has probably gone somewhat further in the State secondary-school world than in that of the independent schools, or at least as far.

² This point will be discussed at length in chap. vi.

³ It should be noted that no 'cost' of earnings foregone is reckoned in this chapter. Except for marginal families and those of scholarship-winners, it is unlikely that this 'cost' weighs much with parents able to contemplate an independent school for their offspring. But the omission of this 'cost' makes comparison with the figures of total 'cost' in the preceding chapter somewhat imprecise statistically, although the figures in each chapter are exactly comparable in their effect on family limitation in the relevant groups.

CHAPTER IV

UNIVERSITIES

§ I INTRODUCTION

So far in these pages 'higher education' has not been considered beyond the post-primary stage: and a few years in a secondary school are the maximum 'higher education' in prospect, even under the most favourable conditions, for nine out of ten of our children. Only the fortunate few can expect to go further and to frequent the lecture rooms of a university. How few, is readily seen by comparing the .97 per thousand of the population in universities in England and Wales during the academic year 1936-37 with the 13.65 per thousand in 'public' and 'recognized' secondary schools at the same time.¹ In absolute numbers this comparison would juxtapose 39,804 undergraduates to 559,458 boys and girls in the schools. While, since the Great War, the total of university students has undergone some increase, the ranks of pupils in secondary schools have

¹ In Scotland, however, per 1000 of the population rather more than twice as many as in England and Wales achieve university education. In 1936-37, the figure reached 1.99 per thousand. Wales also sends a larger fraction of her population to the universities than does England, although both fall short of Scotland. Unfortunately, statistics are not available to separate Wales from England except in census years. For those years, the results follow:

Years	ENGLAND		WALES		SCOTLAND	
	Students	<i>Students</i>	Students	<i>Students</i>	Students	<i>Students</i>
		<i>Per 1000</i>		<i>Per 1000</i>		<i>Per 1000</i>
		<i>of the Total Pop.</i>		<i>of the Total Pop.</i>		<i>of the Total Pop.</i>
1900-1	13,845	0.45	1,253	0.62	5,151	1.15
1910-11	19,617	0.59	1,375	0.56	6,736	1.41
1920-21	33,868	0.96	2,838	1.07	11,746	2.40
1930-31	33,808	0.90	2,868	1.11	11,150	2.30

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overflowed. In considering university expenses in this chapter, therefore, it must be borne in mind that the fraction of the population concerned is considerably smaller than that mentioned above; for even the non-aided 'recognized' secondary schools accounted for 77,063 boys and girls during that same year, 1936-37, a total representing 1.88 per 1000 of the population of England and Wales.

If, however, the numbers concerned with university costs are relatively small, the pressure of these costs upon the size of families is none the less important. It must be remembered that universities in England to-day are far less aristocratically exclusive than many of her 'public' schools, and if many of the relatively poorer students are assisted in one way or another, not many of them, it will be shown, can cover all their expenses without recourse to the parental pocket especially for support during vacations. Even where attendance at a university, then, calls upon a parent to make few actual payments, he must be prepared first to support his child at school until the age of 18 or 19; and then beyond that stage for another 3 or 4 years at least, he must provide keep during university vacations occupying 5 months or 6 out of the 12. Any prospect of positive gain to the family from a child's earning must be virtually abandoned altogether, for not only is the time of initial full earning still further postponed by entrance to a university, but the chance of employment in the neighbourhood of the home becomes increasingly precarious with each advance made up the educational ladder and with new opportunities to qualify for higher posts.

What now are the types of families which normally aspire to a university education for their children? In the first place, there can be little doubt that a majority of candidates for the universities come from families that have already, both in respect of the expensiveness of the school chosen and length of time spent there, incurred a relatively heavy outlay, even if the additional cost of boarding has been avoided. In the second

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place, however, there are those whose schooling has been comparatively inexpensive, even if not completely covered by scholarships. To many of these a university education, especially at the ancient universities, provides an even better means of leaping social barriers than school days had offered. Even the misfortune, as it seems to many, of attendance at a public elementary school can be remedied by three years or so spent in university cloisters, Oxford and Cambridge in particular making good much of earlier deficiency. Under such circumstances, therefore, university costs, where they have to be met, represent a far greater burden than had previously been undertaken for education. If not, maintenance during part of the year at least and until an advanced age often exerts a considerable pressure on family finances. What, then, is the toll which university expenses may levy upon family purses where no assistance is forthcoming during the 3 to 6 years required for graduation?

In what follows, statistics of cost of university training are accumulated for the British universities.¹ The Irish and Scottish universities are included as well as the English and Welsh because, unlike those of schools, university statistics comparable with English and Welsh are readily available for the other two countries and may, therefore, be added for the sake of completeness. The university world, moreover, forms something of a whole throughout the British Isles in a way hardly true of the world of schools. In the matter of cost statistics, however, Oxford and Cambridge cannot be included with other universities, mainly because there is no such thing as an inclusive university charge discoverable for either. Each consists of a congeries of colleges among which uniformity is lacking in scales of charges, as in other matters. Every student must make certain payments to the university chest as such; but, over and above these, the great bulk of his expenses, incurred as they are

¹ The Irish universities are not included in later sections where financial assistance to university students is discussed.

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in college and personal charges, can vary within wide limits. Moreover, Oxford and Cambridge are not comparable with other British universities, because it is only in the first two that almost all undergraduates have to reside from one to three years in college as an integral part of their training. Consequently, a new element of cost, which is not generally found elsewhere, has to be introduced as part of normal outlay in the older universities, a new element which everybody knows is at the bottom of their relative costliness. In consequence, Oxford and Cambridge require separate analysis.

§ 2 COSTS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

No attempt will be made here to sort out the highly diverse and inaccessible information about charges and outlays in each and every college at the two senior seats of learning. All that will be given here is an average, together with probable outside limits, for each university. An average not open to widespread criticism, however, would be very difficult for the outsider to come by unless official sources of information were available for guidance. Fortunately, they are. Cambridge publishes a Handbook for students giving precisely the averages required, while an Oxford Handbook gives the basis for calculating such an average. If criticism, then, is levelled against the figures which appear in the following pages, it will be made against the authority of the universities' own Handbooks. Estimates for Cambridge¹ for the academic year 1937-38 are as shown on p. 225. Naturally, as the Handbook emphasizes, when wide divergencies are involved between individual students as well as between the various colleges, any general figures of this kind can have only a strictly limited meaning. Nevertheless, they admirably fulfil the purpose here required. They apply to the normal

¹ In the *Student's Handbook to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, p. 69, and reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics.

COSTS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

EXPENSES AT CAMBRIDGE

	Initial expenses			Expenses that recur annually			Occasional expenses
	Lower scale	Average	Higher scale	Lower scale	Average	Higher scale	
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
<i>Initial expenses</i>							
Cautions money	0 0	15 0*	30 0*				
College admission fee	2 0	3 0	5 0				
University matriculation fee†	5 0	5 0	5 0				
Valuation of furniture‡	10 0†	25 0†	50 0†				
Repairs of rooms§	3 0	4 0	6 0				
Linen, china, etc.	5 0	8 0	15 0				
Cap, gown, and surplice	2 0¶	3 10	4 10				
	27 0	63 10	115 10				
<i>University fees</i>							
Lecture fees				18 0**	18 0**	18 0**	
Examinations (B.A.)	3 0††	3 0††	3 0††				8 10††
Degree fee (B.A.)							3 0§§
University capitation tax				5 5	5 5	5 5	
Parliamentary registration							0 10
<i>College fees</i>							
Tuition fee				21 0	27 0	27 0	
Establishment charge				12 0	14 0	15 0	
College dues				1 1	4 10	8 5	
College degree fee							2 0
<i>Board and lodging</i>							
Rooms and service				30 0	38 0	54 0	
Dinner in Hall				20 0	24 0	27 0	
Commons, etc. (including milk)				6 0	8 10	10 0	
College kitchen				0 0	25 0	40 0	
Coals and light				6 0	9 0	12 0	
Laundress				3 0	6 0	9 0	
Groceries, etc.				15 0	20 0	30 0	
				137 6	199 5	255 10	
<i>Personal expenses</i>							
Books				8 0	10 0	15 0	
Travelling				7 10	15 0	22 10	
Tradesmen's bills (including tailor, etc.)				30 0	40 0	60 0	
Clubs and Societies	1 1	3 3	5 5	5 5	9 0	15 0	
Grand Totals	31 1‡	69 13‡	123 15‡	188 1	273 5	368 0	14 0
<i>Possible additions</i>							
Private tuition				0 0	20 0	36 0	

* Recoverable in part when name removed from college registers.

† £3 of this sum may be due in advance as a Registration Fee.

‡ Recoverable in part on going out of residence.

§ In the case of a student living in lodgings, these expenses are not incurred.

|| From the nature of the case, the estimate under this head is scarcely more than a guess. Meals eaten in the town, for example, are indulged in to very different extents.

¶ The gown, and sometimes the surplice, may be obtained at second-hand.

** Approximate figure for most literary subjects for honours students. For other students and subjects, it may be much increased. See below p. 226.

†† Previous Examination. ‡‡ £12 7s. 0d. for medical, and £12 10s. 0d. for law (LL.B.) students.

§§ £11 for medical and £6 for law (LL.B.) students.

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expenses of a student pursuing one of the less expensive arts courses, and to one having rooms in college. Other courses would involve a substantial change in one item. The annual university fee for lectures rises for students in practical subjects — i.e. Natural Sciences (including Medicine), Mechanical Sciences (Engineering), Agriculture or Geography. At the highest they reach £50 8s. od. for Engineering. In addition, however, to lecture fees such students have to pay laboratory expenses, and, at the same time, to provide themselves with instruments and materials for their experiments. Consequently, where £18 a year would suffice for many arts students, those in Natural Sciences or Medicine would have to be prepared for £45 — and the latter for another £4 or £5 at the outset for dissecting instruments and skeleton; in Engineering £50 for an honours, or £37 for an ordinary, degree — as well as an added £4 or £5 for instruments to start with; in Agriculture or Estate Management £31 10s. od. to £36 15s. od.; in Architecture £47 5s. od.; and candidates for the Indian Civil Service Open Competition about £43.¹ These also are precisely the students who find it necessary to put in six weeks or so of residence during the Long (summer) vacation and thereby incur an extra annual expense of between £20 and £35 in all. Taking one item with another, then, a student for a degree in engineering might have to spend some £70 to £85 more each year than the above table might suggest.

But, it may be asked, could not a student offset such additional charges by living out of college, thus saving himself from residence charges, which in the men's Cambridge colleges evidently represent the main part of costs for education?² Even if he would, a man can never avoid residence in college at some time during his undergraduate career.³ A room in college is normally

¹ See the *Student's Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² The above table applies to men only; women will be considered separately below.

³ Apart from a small number of non-collegiate students. (See below, p. 233, footnote 1.) What is said in the following pages refers only to students who are members of a college.

COSTS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

found for him, and he must accept it, in his third if not also in his second year at the university.¹ This residence, indeed, is accepted as an integral part of the education both at Cambridge and at Oxford, and it will be noticed how small a part of the total expenses at these universities is represented by the costs of formal education, i.e. lectures, tutorials, examinations and degree fees. Taken alone, or even combined with the extra charges exacted from students in sciences and other more expensive subjects, teaching costs as such are quite as modest at these ancient universities as they are in many of the newer centres of learning. In the latter, however, if a student can live at home,² payments for the university can be restricted to little more than such formal charges, whereas the cost of residence either within the walls of a college or elsewhere under its auspices must be accepted as a normal outlay at the older universities.³

When there is no room for a student in college, he has to live, while *in statu pupillari*, in lodgings approved by the university authorities. The question remains whether much saving is possible while an undergraduate lives out of college. University lodgings normally cost from 3 to 3½ guineas a week — sometimes up to 4 guineas and only exceptionally down to 2½. Moreover, even when residing outside in this way, a student lives the life of his college and must regularly pay college dues

¹ In contrast to residence in college during the last year at Cambridge, the first years are spent in college by Oxford undergraduates.

² Table U shows that the proportion of students which lives in colleges, hostels or lodgings is often small, and the proportion living at home consequently large. (Also p. 246.)

³ The same is sometimes true to a certain extent elsewhere, e.g. at the University of Durham; but among provincial universities that is a great exception. In Oxford and Cambridge, on the other hand, only the merest handful of students can live at home while they are members of the university — during 1937-38, 84 men and 18 women at Cambridge, and 27 women only at Oxford. In contrast, other students resided as follows: (*Returns of the University Grants Committee*, 1937-38).

	Colleges and Hostels		Lodgings	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Cambridge	2,495	439	2,753	49
Oxford	2,377	652	1,671	213
		227		

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and other charges. Perhaps it is scarcely surprising, therefore, to find the Student's Handbook concluding that, 'the expenses of a student in lodgings, though differently distributed, are not very different in total amount [from those incurred in college]'.¹

To return to the table of expenses,² it appears that in general a man must be prepared to put down at least £27 when he first joins the university, and that with a more luxurious furnishing of rooms he might find it necessary to loosen his purse strings to the extent of no less than £115 10s. od., although sums spent on the valuation of furniture and on caution money³ are recoverable, in part at least, when college life is completed. After that, an arts student, if very frugal in his habits and resident in a college with low charges — i.e. often a particularly well-endowed college which can afford to save the pockets of its students — might be able to keep his annual expenses down to £137 6s. od. On the average, however, something more like £200 would be needed to cover these expenses, it seems; on a still higher scale £225 or so might be spent. How unusual and difficult it is, however, to manage on the lowest estimates, is made clear enough by the £225 which most L.E.A.s — and, as far as it is possible to tell, the Board of Education in arriving at estimates for State scholarships — seem to accept as a working figure of cost at Oxford and Cambridge.

So much for money more directly entailed by university residence. Far more important than this, however, for a parent anxious to know the full extent of his commitments is the total figure after reasonable additions have been made to cover personal expenses. It is well known that a man cannot be expected to live at either of the ancient universities, much less to make the best of his opportunities, unless he is able to enjoy a

¹ *Returns of the University Grants Committee, 1937-38*, p. 68.

² On p. 225 above.

³ This money is taken to cover the college for breakages, losses, or other accidents to its property. When a student's name is finally removed from the college books, the remnant of this money is then returned to him. Scholars are sometimes exempted from payment, scholarship monies taking its place.

COSTS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

certain amount of social life with his contemporaries and to mix in clubs and societies with them. When allowance is made for such outlay, the most modest student, it would seem, could scarcely manage on less than £188, whereas at the other extreme some men would require almost twice that figure. The annual budget of a student ranking as fairly average is estimated by the authorities to add up to about £273. A lavish student who was also studying engineering, it seems, might demand, apart altogether from private tuition, expenses during vacations and pure luxuries, the incredible figure of £473 each undergraduate year.

What now of the sister university at Oxford? Unhappily the annual Handbook to the University of Oxford does not attempt to build up a comparable table to that quoted above for Cambridge. By drawing upon such information as this Handbook does provide, however, and by supplementing it with information secured directly from the colleges, an attempt has been made here to present figures for Oxford in as parallel a form as possible. The result is as shown on p. 230.

It emerges, then, that on the average the annual college bill in Oxford falls short of that in Cambridge by some £40; in the former it will amount to some £160,¹ in the latter to almost £200. If it were assumed that personal expenses would amount to much the same in both of the ancient universities, it would then appear that on an average scale of expenditure a student at Oxford would consume £234 each year upon items which would cost his counterpart at Cambridge £273 or so. Furthermore, at Oxford these bills would for the most part include a charge for rent of furniture. Initial expenses, therefore, are lower there than at Cambridge, where they have been taken to cover the cost of furniture by a valuation at the outset of a student's career. In addition, Cambridge apparently exacts an

¹ This figure represents a weighted mean of annual battels (i.e. bills paid to or through a college) quoted for each college in the *Handbook*. An average figure for the number of students in residence is also drawn from that source.

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EXPENSES AT OXFORD

	Initial expenses			Expenses that recur annually			Occa- sional expenses
	Lower scale	Average	Higher scale	Lower scale	Average	Higher scale	
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
<i>Initial expenses*</i>							
Cautions money†	0 0	20 0	30 0				
College admission fee	1 0	5 0	20 0				
University matriculation fee	5 0	5 0	5 0				
Linen, china, etc.‡	5 0	8 0	15 0				
Cap, gown and surplice‡	2 0	3 10	4 10				
	13 0	41 10	74 10				
<i>Occasional expenses</i>							
Repairs of rooms							£3 to £6
<i>University fees</i>							
Examinations (B.A.)	3 0§	3 0§	3 0§				8 0
Degree fee (B.A.)							7 10¶
University dues				6 0	6 0	6 0	
<i>College fees</i>							
Tuition fees**				24 0	31 10	33 0	
Establishment charge				15 0	25 10	37 15	
College dues							
College degree fee							£1 to £5
				39 0	63 0	70 15	
<i>Board and lodging††</i>							
Rooms and service							
Dinner in Hall							
Hire of furniture*					97 0		
Commons, etc.							
College kitchen							
Coals and light							
Laundress							
Groceries, etc.							
					160 0		
<i>Personal expenses‡</i>							
Books					10 0		
Travelling					15 0		
Tradesmen's bills (including tailor, etc.)					40 0		
Clubs and Societies	1 1	3 3	5 5		9 0		
Grand Totals	17 1	47 13	82 15		234 0		19 10 to 26 10

* In some colleges, instead of hiring furniture from the college a man may, if he prefers, take over the furniture in his room at a valuation. In that case, initial expenses would be increased by say £10 to £30, whereas annual expenses would be reduced by an average of some £6.

† Recoverable in part when name removed from College Registers. Scholars may be excused altogether.

‡ Assumed the same as in Cambridge Table. Most of these items can in any case only be guessed at. The gown, and sometimes the surplice, can often be obtained second-hand.

§ For Responsions, or £1 on exemption.

** For students in inexpensive arts subjects. Others will be discussed below.

†† There is no reliable source of information for arriving at figures for board and lodging on any but an average scale of expenditure.

|| £16 for students taking B.C.L. (see below p. 231) after B.A., and £29 in all for medical students, i.e. for B.A., B.M., and B.Ch. degrees (see also p. 231 below).

¶ £15 10s. 0d. for B.A. and B.C.L. degrees together, or £21 10s. 0d. for medicals.

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early charge for repairs of rooms, whereas a charge of this nature is more correctly entered under Oxford's occasional column. The money which a young student would be prepared to put down on taking up residence, in fact, might be less in Oxford than in Cambridge, but practice in the matter of charging for furniture seems to vary in both universities, so that differences in the item of initial expenses must be considered less important than differences in annual commitments. In any case, smaller initial expenses at Oxford may to some extent be offset by larger occasional expenses.

In Oxford, as in Cambridge, it seems that a student spending a year out of college living in university lodgings¹ would find his budget, although differently composed, hardly different in aggregate amount. Students in certain subjects, on the other hand, would have to be prepared for higher than normal charges under certain heads. Once more there is little information in the Handbook to suggest how much difference might be made in this way. Prospectuses of many colleges explain that everything depends in this matter upon how much teaching or tuition must be secured for a student outside the confines of his own college and upon the extent to which he needs laboratory facilities. To judge, however, from what information is available, Medicine and the Sciences, including Engineering, Forestry, and Agriculture, involve additions from £4 to £6 a term, and Modern Languages about £2 10s. od. Sometimes English also may be charged slightly more highly than other arts subjects. Where necessary, laboratory fees have also to be added as well as these higher charges for teaching.

To return now to men whose studies do not take them into subjects requiring extra payment — nor requiring residence, often essential for such as science and theological students, during the summer vacation — it must be emphasized that the Oxford figures so far discussed apply only to those who enjoy a

¹ A common practice, if not a college regulation, during a third year of residence in Oxford.

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fairly average scale of expenditure. It has been shown that in Cambridge an economical student resident in one of the cheaper colleges might reduce his annual budget by £85 below the average. The £273 5s. od. assigned as an average, in fact, can be reduced to £188 1s. od.¹ Unfortunately, there is no reliable source of information for arriving at a similar figure for expenditure upon a lower scale at Oxford, but there can be no doubt that many students do reside at Oxford and graduate without spending as much as £234 upon university and closely associated expenses each year. A man of modest tastes and habits, without at all committing himself to frugal ways, might well reduce the figure of £97, normally spent upon board and lodging, by limiting to a minimum his excursions to the college kitchen, especially on behalf of guests.² He would undoubtedly effect further saving under the heading of personal expenses. There is widespread agreement that without denying himself any expenditure essential for a reasonably full participation in university life, a student could very well budget £6 for books, £25 for tradesmen's bills and £5 for clubs and societies, while most students with third class tickets would need no more than £7 10s. od. for travel during the year. On these four items alone, then, he might save as much as £30 10s. od., thereby bringing his total down to £203 10s. od. On the whole, however, it is perhaps clear from the working figure of £225, already quoted,³ that more than the minimum of £200 or less is normally needed by men who are to take unstinting advantage, at Oxford as well as Cambridge, of all the opportunities which those universities offer outside the lecture room or tutor's study. Much depends not only upon the individual student's predilections for careful or extravagant living, but upon the associates he happens to be

¹ See Table p. 225.

² During one year at Christ Church, for example, whereas the general average for battels amounted to £184, and 8 extravagant undergraduates allowed that figure to rise as high as £278, 8 others by keeping their expenditures to a minimum reduced it to £139.

³ *vide supra*, p. 228.

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thrown among or whom he chooses when he first goes up. If his companions are well-to-do men, accustomed to extreme comfort, if not luxury, and expecting to enjoy at the university a corresponding standard of life — a type more common in certain colleges than others — then a man could not expect to mix with them and still keep his expenditure down to a minimum figure. Nor could he generally do so if he joined in many university, as distinct from college, activities in connection with which he would among other things be expected to travel for 'away' events. Men such as these usually need a wide margin to spare above essential charges, but the man who goes to the university primarily as a scholar and for intellectual stimulus can often contrive to keep himself there on £200 a year or less.¹

The expenses of women at the older universities are altogether more uniform than those incurred by their brothers. The four women's colleges at Oxford and the two at Cambridge each charge £150 a year to the greater number of their students, those who study more expensive subjects — e.g. Medicine, Science, Architecture, etc. — having to pay £160, and only the relatively few who occupy specially large rooms or a suite of

¹ It will have been noticed that for both Oxford and Cambridge costs have so far been considered only for students of specific colleges. The vast majority of students are included in this way, but there are small groups of 'non-collegiate' students in both institutions. Thus, in Cambridge there are usually about 190 such men — who are attached to Fitzwilliam House — in comparison with some 5130 men belonging to the 18 colleges; while in Oxford St. Catherine's Society for men usually numbers about 180, in comparison with the average of about 3640 men in the 22 colleges.

Membership of these societies never carries the prestige attached to a college and with only few exceptions the societies are chosen as a second best, to be exchanged for a college if any opportunity offers even after a year or so has been passed *in statu pupillari*. By living in lodgings and avoiding not only college charges, especially for dues and establishment, but other expenses associated with college life, their annual budget can be lower than most students'. There are no complete figures, but the Cambridge *Handbook* suggests that their non-collegiate men should be able to manage on £160 to £165 a year for university charges, board and lodging and all miscellaneous expenditure except for railway fares and clothes. That is, when everything had been paid for, a non-collegiate student's figure could be rather lower than any college student could achieve even on a low scale of expenditure. The difference between these two, however, would not be large, and a non-collegiate could easily pile up his expenses to equal or surpass those of college members.

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two rooms paying higher figures. In contrast to most men's colleges,¹ the fees represent an inclusive charge for all meals and tuition. To the college a small additional subscription must be paid for membership of societies and athletic clubs,² whereas to the university the usual fees have to be paid for examination, together with matriculation charge, dues and degree fee in Oxford, while in Cambridge women pay £2 a year to the university in dues and £2 for the title to the degree of B.A. In short, women at Oxford pay £4 10s. od. a year to the university and £23 10s. od. in initial or occasional expenses, whereas at Cambridge women pay only £2 each year in university dues and £13 10s. od. for examinations and title to a degree. When allowance is made for expenditure on books and travelling, then, women students at Oxford and Cambridge probably need at least £175 a year to cover expenses, apart altogether from personal incidentals and a substantial item in clothes. Since some allowance was made for tailors' bills in the total figures quoted for men at these universities, it would be fair to make a comparable addition here and to estimate the average minimum figure for a woman's comfortable residence in one or other of the sister universities at little short of £200, especially if means are to be available for a certain amount of social intercourse and participation in whatever university activities she may be permitted to enter.

It appears, therefore, that whereas the character of regulations in the colleges makes it impossible for a woman to live at anything like the scale of extravagance and luxury open to men, she cannot, in general, contrive to exert very strict economies in her annual budget, at least beyond a certain point. The first £150 or so is required from one and all, and even beyond that figure certain expenditures cannot be evaded. Her only hope of saving much would lie, at Oxford, in her joining the Society of Oxford Home-Students instead of one of the colleges. At

¹ Except 2 at Oxford and 1 at Cambridge.

² i.e. about £3.

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Cambridge, no course is open to her but membership of Newnham or Girton. Apart from those who live in their own homes, Home-Students live in an approved family in Oxford or else in a hostel.¹ In addition to university charges which they pay like other students, there is an entrance fee of £2, caution money of £3 (or £10 for those whose homes are outside the United Kingdom), annual dues of £10 10s. od. to the Society, together with £1 10s. od. each for sports club and library subscriptions, and the cost of tuition, which amounts to £36 a year for those reading Natural Science, £42 for Medicine, and £30 for all other Honour Schools. Their board and residence will cost them from 3 to 3½ guineas a week, or sometimes up to 4 guineas. On the basis of this latter figure, then, Home-Students would have to pay £141 12s. od. a year for those items which cost £150 in the colleges, unless especially large rooms or a suite of rooms are occupied. The 'outsider', in short, can scarcely save at all in comparison with members of the colleges. In order to do so, cheaper board and residence would have to be found; at 3½ guineas a week the total figure would fall to £129 12s. od., at 3 guineas to £117 12s. od., or in the few houses which charge only 2½ guineas, to £105 12s. od.

At the cheapest, therefore, as much as £44 or so can be saved each year by Home-Students, in comparison with the basic expenses at the women's colleges. It may be seriously doubted, however, whether many women join the Society with the express intention of economizing. Some choose the Society because they want to avoid living in a college; but many more, at least among those whose homes are not in Oxford, do so because that is the only way in which they can join the university. On the average, all the four women's colleges taken together can only accept some 570 students, while Cambridge can provide for not more than 500. Consequently, there is always great competition for places in the colleges, and those not fortunate enough to secure such a place after the scholarship and entrance

¹ Only those over 25 can live in lodgings.

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examinations, are often only too glad to accept the offer of membership of Oxford University as a Home-Student. Usually their membership rises as high as about 220.

So far, annual expenditure alone has been examined. But if the total expenses of a university course are to be considered, the important question remains how many times these figures must be multiplied to cover the complete course. The student at Oxford who reads for an ordinary B.A. degree will in general be able to complete that course in three years. Nowadays, however, three-quarters of men and 80% of women take honours¹ and the time required may be longer. Undoubtedly, if an honours standard is to be attempted in the First Public Examination (Moderations) as well as in the Second (Final School), four years of undergraduate residence will almost invariably be required. Precise information on this subject is not available; but, if an informed guess on this subject may be held of any value, the probability is that about a half to two-thirds of students to-day spend four years in residence. Some of these qualify for the B.A. degree before that time, but then proceed to complete the course for a 'professional' degree in Medicine (B.M., B.Ch.) or Law (B.C.L.).² Medical students usually spend a fourth year in theoretical and practical work at the university itself before proceeding to walk the wards for two or three years in a hospital. A total residence of four years is also normally required by those who want to graduate from Oxford as a Bachelor of Civil Law.

At Cambridge also some students, especially those in science, have to stay in residence throughout four years if they are to take an honours degree, although the course for a pass degree can usually be completed in three years. Higher degrees in Law (LL.B.) and Medicine (M.B., B.Chir.) are here also taken for

¹ See *Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p. 134 (1935).

² Others also undertake work for research degrees, such as B.Sc., B.Litt., or D.Phil., but they are not being taken into consideration here — nor the increasing ranks of those who stay on to qualify in a further subject, e.g. theology or 'Modern Greats'.

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the most part after the B.A., and will in all likelihood require four years in residence. Medical students, on the other hand, normally leave Cambridge for hospital work after their third year. The difficulty of estimating what proportion of students stay up for four years in preparing for their basic degrees — i.e. without pursuing research work or qualifying in further subjects — is no less substantial for Cambridge than it was for Oxford. There seems to be some evidence, however, that students more often complete their honours examinations (i.e. Tripos) within the three years at Cambridge than is customary at Oxford. If so, then despite a probable higher cost per year at Cambridge, the average total cost may be lower.

§3 COSTS IN OTHER BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

To turn now to other British universities, statistics follow showing the costs involved. Three cautions, however, must be added. In the first place, they cover only full-time students. Secondly, the cost to the undergraduate of books, scientific instruments, his needs by way of pocket money and outfit during term-time, his travelling expenses and full maintenance during vacations, are excluded from the figures, which include, therefore, only tuition fees, initial and annual registration dues, examination and graduation charges. It need hardly be added that the very important and often heavy charges thus omitted from the figures quoted below¹ are too susceptible of individual variation to bring precise and detailed statistical statements of them within the realms of possibility. At the best, as for Oxford and Cambridge, estimates alone can be made. In the third place, it is impossible, with the available statistics, to find 'weighted' averages where figures of costs are sought for groups of universities. In other words, charges at the various universities could not be 'weighted' according to the number of students studying for each degree. The figures given, therefore,

¹ And in Table U.

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TOTAL UNIVERSITY COST—Expenses of Degree (Average for Regions)*

University	London		Eng. Provincial Univs.		English Univs.†		Univ. of Wales‡		England and Wales†	
	No. of Colleges	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost	No. of Colleges	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost
Degree		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
B.A. (Ord.)	6	121 16 8	12	107 15 3	18	112 9 1	4	61 17 6	22	103 5 4
B.A. (Hons.)	6	130 15 6	12	128 9 4	18	129 4 9	4	80 18 0	22	120 9 0
B.Com.	1	94 10 0	9	109 7 5	10	107 17 8	—	—	10	107 17 8
B.A. Admin.	—	—	1	109 14 6	1	109 14 6	—	—	1	109 14 6
L.L.B.	3	101 3 0	10	70 17 10	13	77 17 6	1	61 17 6	14	76 14 8
B.L.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.Sc. Econ.	2	95 0 6	3	119 11 8	5	109 15 2	—	—	5	109 15 2
B.Sc. Dom. Sci.	—	—	1	154 4 6	1	154 4 6	—	—	1	154 4 6
Pure B.Sc. (Ord.)	6	157 9 6	12	123 17 2	18	135 1 4	4	76 17 6	22	124 9 9
Pure B.Sc. (Hons.)	6	158 12 8	12	150 10 9	18	153 4 9	4	100 18 0	22	143 14 5
B.Sc. Tech.	—	—	4	146 11 6	4	146 11 6	—	—	4	146 11 6
B.Sc. Eng.	3	161 3 0	7	150 8 2	10	153 12 7	—	—	10	153 12 7
B.Sc. Mining	—	—	3	145 11 2	3	145 11 2	—	—	3	145 11 2
B. Arch.	1	259 7 0	4	181 4 3	5	196 16 9	—	—	5	196 16 9
B.Sc. Agric.	—	—	5	158 8 5	5	158 8 5	—	—	5	158 8 5
B.Sc. Forestry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B.Sc. Dairying	—	—	1	128 17 0	1	128 17 0	—	—	1	128 17 0
B.Pharm.	—	—	2	130 5 3	2	130 5 3	1	96 7 6	3	118 19 4
M.B., Ch.B.	2	290 0 6	7	287 16 9	9	288 6 6	1	296 8 0	10	289 2 8
B.D.S.	—	—	7	304 10 4	7	304 10 4	—	—	7	304 10 4
B.V.Sc.	—	—	1	223 5 0	1	223 5 0	—	—	1	223 5 0

* For sources of information and details of the items included, see Table U which unfolds the detail for each university on which the above groups are based.

† Oxford and Cambridge are not included in this Table, and in London University only the following colleges: King's, University, Queen Mary, Royal Holloway, Westfield, Bedford, and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

‡ Colleges at Cardiff, Swansea, Aberystwyth and Bangor, and the Welsh National School of Medicine.

§ Including an average student's amalgamation fee.

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TOTAL UNIVERSITY COST—Expenses of Degree (Average for Regions)*

University	Scotland§		Great Britain†		Nat. Univ. Ireland‡		All Ireland¶		British Isles†	
	No. of Univs.	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost	No. of Colleges	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost	No. of Colleges or Univs.	Average cost
Degree		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
B.A. (Ord.)	4	58 16 4	26	96 8 5	3	55 13 4	5	45 2 9	31	88 3 0
B.A. (Hons.)	4	75 15 8	26	113 11 7	3	56 6 8	4	60 8 9	30	106 9 10
B.Comun.	2	59 4 9	12	99 15 6	2	52 0 0	4	78 3 6	16	94 7 6
B.A. Admin.	—	—	1	109 14 6	—	—	—	—	1	109 14 6
LL.B.	3	56 5 6	17	73 2 5	3	95 15 8	5	96 10 7	22	78 8 10
B.L.	3	43 10 0	3	43 10 0	—	—	—	—	3	43 10 0
B.Sc. Econ.	—	—	5	109 15 2	—	—	—	—	5	109 15 2
B.Sc. Dom. Sci.	—	—	1	154 4 6	—	—	—	—	1	154 4 6
Pure B.Sc. (Ord.)	4	107 14 7	26	121 18 2	3	82 19 0	5	86 15 2	31	116 4 9
Pure B.Sc. (Hons.)	4	114 10 7	26	139 4 8	3	81 4 0	4	93 15 9	30	133 3 5
B.Sc. Tech.	2	126 1 6	6	139 14 10	—	—	1	89 4 0	7	132 10 5
B.Sc. Eng.	4	108 4 1	14	140 13 0	3	90 12 2	4	107 16 7	18	133 7 2
B.Sc. Mining	1	127 5 0	4	140 19 7	—	—	—	—	4	140 19 7
B. Arch.	1	108 2 0	6	182 1 0	1	141 12 0	1	141 12 0	7	176 5 5
B.Sc. Agric.	3	106 1 6	8	138 15 10	2	109 0 0	4	126 19 3	12	134 16 11
B.Sc. Forestry	2	115 18 9	2	115 18 9	—	—	1	170 18 0	3	134 5 2
B.Sc. Dairying	—	—	1	128 17 0	1	114 0 0	1	114 0 0	2	121 8 6
B.Pharm.	1	108 12 6	4	116 7 7	—	—	—	—	4	116 7 7
M.B., Ch.B.	4	259 14 0	14	280 14 6	3	180 1 4	5	208 16 9	19	261 16 2
B.D.S.	—	—	7	304 10 4	2	248 4 6	4	277 18 3	11	294 16 11
B.V.Sc.	1	236 11 6	2	229 18 3	—	—	—	—	2	229 18 3

* For sources of information and details of the items included, see Table U which unfolds the detail for each University on which the above groups are based.

† Oxford and Cambridge are not included in this Table, and in London University only the following colleges: King's, University, Queen Mary, Royal Holloway, Westfield, Bedford, and the London School of Economics.

‡ The initial arts degree in the Scottish Universities is M.A., not B.A.

§ Colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway.

¶ i.e. including Queen's University, Belfast, and Trinity College, Dublin, as well as the National University of Ireland.

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represent the average charge made by the groups of universities, and not the amount paid on the average by all students.

The preceding tables set forth the total expenses (as defined above) incurred for graduation in each subject. Subjects are denoted by the title of the degree conferred after reading them — arts subjects being comprised in ordinary or honours B.A. degrees. Universities are not separately specified,¹ but grouped in allied, mainly territorial, groups in order that the complexity of costs for different courses in different institutions may be reduced to some sort of order and stated in averages. Only by recourse to such a plan can general tendencies be discovered. Examination of the above Table reveals that, as might be expected, much the same order of costliness is found for the various degrees in the various regional groups. It would not be without meaning, therefore, to arrange the degrees in the order of expense in which they appear for the British Isles as a whole. The 'cheaper group' of degrees might be described as those whose total cost does not exceed £122, and their membership is as follows, in order of rising expenses:

LL.B.	B.Sc. Economics
B.A. (Ordinary)	Pure B.Sc. (Ordinary)
B. Commerce	B. Pharmacy
B.A. Honours	B.Sc. Dairying
B.A. Administration	

The B.L., a law degree confined to three Scottish universities (i.e. Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow), is even less expensive than the general law degrees, i.e. LL.B. None of the highly technical degrees are represented in this 'cheap group', except that of dairy farming whose presence is easily explained since only two universities offer it — Reading and the National

¹ For that specification see Table U, which gives the following details: the total cost of each degree at the various universities, together with the number of years normally consumed in completing the course: figures for hostel costs and the fraction of undergraduates residing in hostels and colleges or else in lodgings: the total of men and women students in each institution. The Table refers specifically to the year 1937-38.

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University of Ireland — and the second is one of the least costly for nearly all forms of training. Hence, the average of the two is reduced further than is normal for specialized, technical courses. Undoubtedly the great majority of undergraduates work in this group, which includes law, languages, general science and economics.

As for degrees costing more than £122, they occur in the following order of expense, the cheapest in fact exceeding £132:

B.Sc. Technology	B.Sc. Agriculture
Pure B.Sc. Honours	B.Sc. Mining
B.Sc. Engineering	B.Sc. Domestic Science
B.Sc. Forestry	B.Sc. Architecture
Last, degrees for veterinary surgeons, doctors and dentists.	

A comparison of the grouped English universities with the British Isles as a whole shows an exact correspondence in the degrees placed in the 'cheap group' and in those classed as more expensive, if the former is defined for England with an upper cost limit of £136 (not £122 as before). Within each group, however, the expense order of degrees is different for England alone. Notably, the ordinary B.A. and B.A. honours, being £24 and £23 respectively dearer than their British averages, have to be inserted several places lower down on the list. B. Commerce is £13 10s. od. dearer for England, B. Pharmacy £14, and the ordinary B.Sc. £19. Among the more expensive degrees, those for technology and dentistry are about £10 dearer, while those for engineering, agriculture, architecture, medicine and Pure B.Sc. honours are £20 or more dearer than for the British Isles as a whole. England therefore emerges as quite the most expensive of the four countries, while the London group tops the rest of England in point of costliness except for the B. Commerce and B.Sc. Economics, for which university expenses at the London School of Economics and Political Science amount to £94 10s. od. each.

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The above Table, however, gives Ireland the palm for all-round cheapness, except for two degrees — that in law which involves four years in Trinity College, Dublin, and requires two further years after a student has proceeded to a B.A. in the National University; and that in forestry which cannot be compressed into less than four years at Trinity College, the only institution in Ireland offering it. Apart from the LL.B., all degrees in the National University are more economical than if taken in Trinity College or Queen's University, Belfast.

Scotland, again, charges her university population less than England, but on the whole somewhat more than Ireland. To produce a veterinary surgeon in Scotland requires, however, a larger outlay than anywhere else in the British Isles, while lawyers and bachelors of commerce require exceptionally little.

Wales follows Scotland, and is therefore in university, like school, charges less expensive than England. The Welsh B.Sc. ordinary is, moreover, more economical than the Scottish; but on the other hand, since it takes at least six years to become a bachelor of medicine in Wales, and since undergraduates there must qualify for the B.Sc. before completing their strictly medical studies, the aggregate fees outweigh those found for that degree anywhere else in the above Table, although they fall short of those quoted by certain individual universities in England.¹

It was found convenient above to divide degrees into a 'cheap group' and a less cheap group. The latter, it was discovered, was composed of specialized or semi-specialized subjects, on the one hand, and of the B.Sc. honours, on the other. This latter type of degree necessitates a higher outlay than the arts subjects, for the very good reason that it involves the provision by the university of work places and apparatus, so that the authorities are forced to budget for a wholly different kind of outlay in addition to the usual provision of teachers and lecture rooms. Thus, in the University of Liverpool, candidates for an honours

¹ See, in Table U, Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester.

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B.Sc. in mathematics are able to graduate with a saving of £60 which they would have to find were they working in e.g. chemistry, which requires the upkeep and furnishing of laboratories and the purchase of chemicals and apparatus. Westfield College, part of the University of London, also charges some £31 more for students reading ordinary or honours B.Sc. if they include laboratory instruction in addition to the normal theoretical study. A similar surcharge is found for B.Sc. honours in the prospectus of Bedford College, London. The ordinary B.Sc. for the same reason involves a relatively high annual charge for students, but is cheaper on the whole than an honours degree because it normally consumes a year less than the latter.

The expenses of semi-professional or semi-technical degrees are also raised by the length of time necessary for completing their courses. The great majority of undergraduates, of course, expect to attain senior status at the end of three years. Architects, however, except at Glasgow, have to budget for five years; likewise medicals, for whom five years' training under university auspices is a minimum, Birmingham and Trinity College, Dublin, most notably, and several other institutions in addition, requiring another year or two. Degrees in domestic science and honours B.Sc. (pure) take four years — although at Bedford College, London, some students complete their work for the latter in three, under which circumstances they can save between £40 and £56 in their total expenses. It is not surprising, therefore, that the B.Sc. Domestic Science, B.Sc. Arch. and degrees for doctors and dentists constitute four out of the five last items in the list, given above, of degrees in order of their average expense for the British Isles. The other relatively expensive degrees (forming two groups — in mining, engineering, and technology on the one hand, and agriculture and forestry on the other) in the main require only three years to be devoted to their study, although in the University of Sheffield to include practical works experience with either engineering or mining instruction requires four years. In general, however, it must be

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the cost of apparatus, work-shops, and practical training which increases their charges. This class of student receives not only the analytical and theoretical training common to all university studies, but in most instances a practical and semi-professional training in addition. A vocational aptitude is grafted on to intellectual development; but this costs money. Birmingham and Trinity, Dublin, stand out from the rest as institutions that demand lengthy courses. It is for this reason that dental training, engineering, and even the ordinary B.A. degree are more expensive at Birmingham than in England as a whole. Trinity College is especially characterized by courses much longer than their counterparts in the National University of Ireland's list, and in general above those of Queen's University, Belfast. Indeed, both for that reason and on account of high annual charges, Trinity College approximates closely to the average costs in English universities, and as far as the degrees in law, commerce, agriculture and dentistry are concerned, exceeds them.

The expenses so far given for each degree comprise only a limited range of outlays, such as tuition and other fees. It is possible, however, with some statistical precision to make an important departure from this rigid limit to the outlays studied. What is paid by undergraduates in order to reside in university or college hostels can be known with some accuracy. These payments, however, vary widely not only, or even mainly, between one university and the next, but between cheap and expensive hostels attached to the same university. Thus, hostel charges for men at Manchester can vary from £78 15s. od. a session in the Hulme Hall up to as much as £108 in the Dalton Hall; or women at Manchester can pay as little as £55 in St. Gabriel's Hall, and in Ashburne Hall up to £73 10s. od. a session. It is difficult, therefore, to make a comparison of one university with another in this matter of expense. Where more than one hostel is attached to a university or college, the procedure must be to form an average of their various charges,

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remembering how wide a range may in fact be hidden by such averages.

When that is done,¹ it will be seen that Wales and Belfast offer the cheapest hostel residence for men, and in England, the Queen Mary College, London, while Manchester is the most expensive. Women students also find hostels provided for them more cheaply in Ireland — in the National University as well as Belfast — than elsewhere, although Queen Mary College, London, is very little dearer. For women, the most expensive residence seems to be found in the London Colleges, especially at Holloway.² As between men and women, it is evident that on the whole men pay more highly than women for residence, a difference which is no doubt exaggerated because more men than women, as science students, need to do laboratory or similar work during vacations, and therefore have to pay correspondingly more to their hostels than students in residence only during the 'academic' year proper. Finally, it would be interesting if the costs of hostel residence could be fairly compared with the costs of living in lodgings. A precise comparison is impossible. £120 a year is often quoted as a mean figure for the cost of lodgings to students; but lodging charges in fact move between even wider limits than those quoted by university halls and hostels. In the upper ranges, lodgings in London may cost £4 a week, costing thereby as much as £120 for three ten-week terms during a university session. It is usually possible, on the other hand, for the student in lodgings to keep his living charges far under that figure and indeed very often under the lowest that he would have to pay for residence in a hostel. Saving in this way is often achieved by the impecunious student whose university permits a choice between residence in a hostel or outside. Such saving is less often open to women, because university or college authorities for the most

¹ See Table U.

² Although the figure for the cost of residence in Holloway College has only been secured by making an arbitrary deduction for tuition costs from a composite college fee.

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part insist upon accredited, and therefore more expensive, lodgings for women if they are not in hostels.

At least 50% of students cannot live at home during term time in the following institutions:

Bristol	Nottingham
Durham (Durham Division)	Reading
Exeter	Southampton
Leeds (women)	Wales
University College, London (men)	Aberdeen
Queen Mary College, London (women)	St. Andrews
Royal Holloway College, London	
Westfield College, London	
Bedford College, London	
London School of Economics and Political Science	

Seven of the above, however, provide especially large accommodation in their hostels — Durham, Exeter, Royal Holloway College, Westfield College, Nottingham (women), Reading, Southampton — and three of them — Exeter, Nottingham, and Reading (women) — offer especially reasonable terms. The two London colleges are, on the other hand, extremely expensive. Four of the above universities or colleges, situated in places where students have in the main to live away from home, fall within the category of institutions ill-provided with hostel room, namely, Wales (men), Aberdeen, University College, London, and the London School of Economics. It is particularly serious that the two last named, together with King's College, London, should offer so little alternative to lodgings for their undergraduates who, having to live in London, are often forced to suffer from an exceptionally high cost of life. Thus low fees, for a degree in economics at the London School for example, tend to be offset, for many of the full-time students, by the magnitude of these other forms of necessary outlay.

At the least, then, if a student has to be financed in order to pursue full-time studies at a university or university college, a

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fairly substantial sum must be provided to cover his course. The very minimum of university expenses alone, covering registration, tuition, examination and graduation, involves £60 or so in Scotland, Ireland or Wales, and £80 or upwards in England outside Oxford and Cambridge. The majority of students, however, cannot keep such costs as low as this, for there can be little doubt that the greater number of students to-day study for a B.A. honours degree, for which the cost, although among the cheapest of courses, requires an average outlay of £76 in Scotland, £81 in Wales and £129 in England.¹ Not infrequently even higher figures must be contemplated. Statistics to show the precise numbers of undergraduates studying for each and every degree are unfortunately not available, but it is possible to show the numbers in various groups of faculties. Thus, during the academic year 1937-38, enrolments in the universities of Great Britain come out as shown on p. 248. Everywhere, more students were to be found in the relatively cheaper arts subjects than in any other faculty; but the proportions elsewhere were by no means negligible. The contribution of the London medical schools explains the unduly high proportion studying medicine and dentistry in the colleges of the Metropolis; but, even in the English provincial universities, pure science accounted for almost one-fifth, technology and associated subjects for hardly less, and medicine with its related studies for more than another quarter. In Wales and Scotland these fractions are lower, but even there the former reported 42.1% enrolled outside the first arts group, and the latter 53.9%. In Oxford the corresponding figure drops to 18.1%, but Cambridge shows the same percentage as Wales. In Great Britain, then, whichever group of universities is considered, a very large fraction of students are enrolled outside those faculties where fees are at their lowest.

¹ The initial arts degree in Scotland is M.A., not B.A. In Ireland the B.A. honours appears at a lower average figure than the B.A. ordinary because Trinity College, Dublin, the most expensive of the Irish institutions, gives no figure for an honours degree in arts.

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<i>Universities</i> <i>in</i>	<i>Arts, with Theology, Fine Art, Law, Music, Economics and Education</i>	<i>Pure Science</i>	<i>Medicine, including Dentistry</i>	<i>Technology, including Engineering, Applied Chemistry, Mining, Metallurgy, Architecture</i>	<i>Agriculture, including Forestry, Horticulture and Dairy Work</i>
	<i>No. % Total</i>	<i>No. % Total</i>	<i>No. % Total</i>	<i>No. % Total</i>	<i>No. % Total</i>
Cambridge	5,838				
Oxford	4,940				
London	12,726				
England					
(without					
Oxf., Camb.,					
or Lond.)					
Wales					
Scotland					
Gt. Britain					
49,189					
	3,382 57.9	1,223 21.0	443 7.6	626 10.7	164 2.8
	4,046 81.9	560 11.3	208 4.2	39 .8	87 1.8
	3,923 30.8	1,911 15.0	5,722 45.0	1,170 9.2	— —
	4,732 35.8	2,310 17.9	3,489 27.1	1,951 15.2	392 3.0
	1,721 57.9	632 21.3	297 10.0	165 5.6	155 5.2
	4,546 46.1	1,113 11.5	3,182 32.3	826 8.4	174 1.7
	22,350 45.5	7,749 15.7	13,341 27.1	4,777 9.7	972 2.0

* *Returns of the University Grants Committee for 1937-38, Table 4.*

COSTS FOR EXTERNAL LONDON DEGREE

In the main, then, something more than the minimum in university expenses must be met, and often more than the bare three years spent, if preparation for a degree is to be completed.¹ Consequently, for many students, not only must money be found for normal expenditure upon clothes, possibly on travelling and always for maintenance, including pocket money and incidental expenses at least during part of the year; but also apparatus charges, if not outlay on books as well, will make unusual demands. For doctor and dentists, in particular, these two last items may involve from £50 to £100 during the course, dentists even exceeding that figure in one or two universities. To participate in the research work so widely undertaken in these days, especially in such scientific and professional subjects,² extra years would be necessary, again, and still higher expenditures encountered. In order to find satisfactory posts, moreover, such advanced work and research is becoming increasingly necessary, although the majority must still content themselves with the first degree. Consequently, and also because the expenses involved in research and higher work are so varied as to elude classification or definition, this study will confine itself to the costs of initial graduation — except for the few examples already mentioned, where students aiming at a degree in medicine or law must first qualify for a general degree in arts or science.

§4 COSTS FOR AN EXTERNAL LONDON DEGREE

So far attention has been limited in these pages to the numbers and costs of full-time students at our universities and colleges. To stop there, however, would be to give a misleading

¹ The numbers of students given above include those preparing for diplomas and pursuing other courses not leading to graduation.

² During 1937-38, 3021 men and women were engaged in advanced studies, and as many as 1836 of them were attached to faculties in the last four groups described on page 248 above. (*Returns of the University Grants Committee for 1937-38*, Table 7.)

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picture of higher education in this country. It is true that in those institutions provided with income from the University Grants Committee, part-time students preparing for a first degree represent less than one-twentieth of full-time students with the same end in view;¹ but there are many other men and women preparing for the London External Degree, some in technical colleges, some in schools, some working on their own initiative at home.² Thus, in 1938 there were in all 11,872 post-matriculated students registered as working for external London degrees.³ How much these courses of study cost, however, is a question to which no single answer can be given. They would all have to pay £14 2s. od. for an ordinary, or £15 3s. od. for an honours, degree in order to meet registration and examination fees.⁴ Apart from that, however, the paths by which students prepare for the external degrees of London University are so diverse that the cost of preparation may vary from nothing at all for a student who works alone, to the full university or college fees at Exeter, Southampton, or Nottingham, where these degrees are the normal goal. Costs in these three latter institutions are comparable with the English provincial universities; thus, a B.A. ordinary will cost about £100, a pure B.Sc. ordinary about £120, while honours in these two degrees involve about £130 and £150 respectively.⁵ In addition residence costs have to be met, and it has already been noted that more than half of all students in each of these three

¹ A total of 1733 during 1937-38, representing 4.5% of full-time students working for a first degree. [Of these part-time students 660 were in Birkbeck College, London, 221 at King's College, London, 406 at the London School of Economics, and 100 at the (then) Nottingham University College.]

² According to Major Greenwood (in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, March 21st, 1939), 'of candidates for the degree of B.A. who sat as external students between 1931 and 1937 not less than 43% were part-time students, and of candidates for the degree of B.Sc. about the same proportion'.

³ See Letter from Graham Little in *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 8th, 1938.

⁴ Before 1939 the honours fee was a guinea cheaper.

⁵ At Nottingham, the honours courses can sometimes be completed in three years instead of four, thereby achieving a certain saving, while at Southampton children of ratepayers are eligible for lower fees. (See Table U.)

COSTS FOR EXTERNAL LONDON DEGREE

institutions must live away from home during term. For those who take this path to graduation as an external member of London University, therefore,¹ the cost does not fall short of what is required for internal degree work in the English provincial universities.

Between the two extremes mentioned, students may secure assistance and direction in their studies from correspondence courses offered by a number of established schools. They may attend evening courses either in colleges like Birkbeck or the London School of Economics and Political Science, or else less ambitiously in technical schools and polytechnics; or they may work as full-time students in technical colleges. In all these, costs will greatly depend on the particular course chosen; but, to speak in general terms, from £10 to £20 a year would probably see a part-time student through, while a full-time student at a technical college might have to be prepared for £25 or even more if his subject were highly technical. Under some circumstances, therefore, it is possible, when already launched on a remunerative career, to proceed to an external degree at London on a relatively small monetary outlay. Such a course is naturally a hard one and demands considerable perseverance. The successful, however, can usually look for a certain improvement in occupational standing and, for the most part, in financial as well. In general, however, the holder of an external degree must reconcile himself to finding closed against him certain avenues along which the internal graduate can normally proceed. Where the prestige of residence in a college or university is at a premium, as in most corners of the scholastic and university world, then the external degree is a poor competitor. In the field of adult education, however, as well as in industry or commerce, a degree of any complexion whatever is usually regarded as an undisputed asset which will carry its fortunate possessor to posts of responsibility.

¹ During 1937-38, there were 1298 students in these three institutions combined.

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§5 FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The question now arises how far students and those responsible for them can be relieved from a part, at least, of the financial burden imposed by working for a university degree.¹ At a technical college, it is upon L.E.A.s in most areas that, apart from a very few scholarships offered by the colleges themselves, aspirants to a degree must exclusively rely to ease their way. So for evening work in institutions like Birkbeck College. For students contemplating a full-time university career, however, the possibilities of assistance, both in manner of award and in value as compared with costs incurred,² are more varied. The possibilities can most usefully be discussed under five headings: national, local, university, school, and private.

A. *National*

Assistance towards university education awarded on a national scale in England and Wales comprises two sub-groups: in the first place, State responsibility in varying degrees for intending teachers (a topic which will be taken up as a professional matter in chapter v);³ in the second place, State scholarships open to all university candidates, without restriction upon the subjects taken or the profession intended, except that a teachers' grant cannot be held with these scholarships.

¹ Unfortunately, it will not be possible to give details of assistance available for students at the Irish universities. These institutions themselves offer scholarships much like English provincial or the Welsh universities, but beyond that no information can be given — not even for assisted students as a body.

² It is perhaps not unnecessary also to emphasize that even so-called 'non-assisted students' are in fact assisted to the extent that the State and L.E.A.s make grants towards university finances. Thus, even Oxford and Cambridge derive a quarter of their income from Parliamentary grants, a benefit which is to some extent shared by commoners as well as scholars. Other universities depend much more than this upon Parliament and L.E.A.s. (See University Grants Committee *Returns*, 1937-38, Table 9.)

³ See chap. v, pp. 297-300.

ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Following the recommendations of the Consultative Committee on Scholarships for Higher Education which sat during the Great War, 200 State scholarships were instituted in 1919, 22 of them being reserved for Wales. In the subsequent ten years, however, applications for these scholarships increased fourfold, so that in 1930 an extra 100 scholarships were created; but, even then, competition was so severe that candidates were fourteen times as numerous as the available scholarships. The summer of 1936 witnessed a still further increase to a total of 360, and this change was accompanied by another concession which opened these scholarships to all secondary schools in England and Wales, whether grant-aided or not. Formerly only pupils from the grant-aided had been eligible. Awards are made on the basis of the annual higher school certificate examination held by eight examining bodies, scholarships being allotted between these bodies in proportion to entrants for their higher certificate in previous years. Once scholars have been selected, the question then arises what value their scholarships shall carry. At best, full fees may be paid at the university and a maintenance grant of £100 a year given;¹ but the exact allowance made depends upon the individual needs and circumstances of every candidate. After a boy or girl has been selected, the parent or guardian must disclose his total income and other sources of assistance open to his child, but he may offset these by a statement of his liabilities, and especially of the number of dependent children. A balancing of all such facts, together with costs of the course proposed, then decides the State's award, although it is now laid down that no assistance whatever will generally be given where the parents' income exceeds £1000. In practice, the value of awards now works out, when fees and maintenance are taken together, at an average per scholar of some £120.

Those who elect to hold their scholarships at the two senior seats of learning — and during 1937-38, 749 out of a total of

¹ Increased from £80 in 1936.

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1065 State scholars were found in one or other of these institutions¹ — cannot rely upon these benefits from the State as a cover to all their expenses. Other funds must be forthcoming from one of the sources to be discussed below, or else parents must be prepared to meet a considerable portion of the university costs. In view of the higher costs, a State scholar at the older universities can usually expect a more generous allowance than his counterpart elsewhere; but even so a substantial gap remains to be filled if his total expenses at the university are to be fully met. A State scholar who has not already guaranteed for himself some other means of subsistence, and who can find no means of doing so, must content himself with enrolment at a modern university. Outside Oxford and Cambridge, the need for supplementary assistance is less urgent. As always, parents would be called upon to make a contribution commensurate with their income, but beyond that sum a State scholar can usually rely upon sufficient income from his scholarship to keep him at one of the cheaper universities. If no university is near enough to his home to allow him to reside there, he might find only the narrowest margin remaining between income and expenses, but in general he would contrive to make ends meet.

If in one way or another, then, the benefits bestowed by a State scholarship are so substantial, virtually rendering a university career at a provincial university possible even without other assistance, the question arises how plentiful these scholarships are in relation to the demand for them. In other words, has the average candidate for these scholarships a reasonable chance of success? It has already been pointed out that in 1930 the chances were only 1 in 14. Where does this ratio stand to-day now that the full quota of scholarships has been raised to 360? Unfortunately there has been no improvement; for the number of candidates has also increased. Thus,

¹ With another 184 at London, 37 in Wales, 23 in Manchester, 17 in both Liverpool and Leeds, 11 in Durham, 10 in Birmingham, 6 each in Bristol and Reading, and 5 in Sheffield. (*Report of the Board of Education, 1938, Table 84.*)

ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

although in 1936, the first year of the new regulations, the chances were reduced to 1 in 14 again after standing at 1 in 16 a year before and as low as 1 in 19 during 1932 and 1933, candidates in 1938 were more numerous than in either of the previous 8 years and the chances fell once more to 1 in 17.¹

Clearly, then, hopes of a State scholarship are none too rosy for a large majority of those whose ambitions aspire to that status, nor does there seem much prospect of improvement while the numbers competing are so large.² Furthermore, there is some possibility that boys and girls in the grant-aided secondary schools may be less likely than ever to achieve success now that 'recognized' secondary schools of all complexions can put forward candidates. The fear has been expressed that, with all the superior advantages they enjoy in preparing their pupils for university scholarships, non-aided schools will not only carry off the 60 new scholarships recently created, but will also deprive pupils in the State secondary schools of some of the 300 which they previously enjoyed. It is too early yet to say what may be the final outcome of the new situation. So far these fears have proved groundless, for in 1936 only 29 scholarships in all were awarded to boys and girls from these non-aided schools,³ and in 1937, out of 191 taken up at that time and not postponed — as frequently happens — until a year later, only

¹ Detailed figures for candidates in these years follow:

	BOYS		GIRLS		TOTAL	
	<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Awards</i>	<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Awards</i>	<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Awards</i>
1930	2,744	185	1,588	115	4,332	300
1931	3,423	185	1,776	115	5,199	300
1932	3,959	184	1,865	116	5,824	300
1933	3,868	186	1,909	114	5,777	300
1934	3,806	185	1,839	115	5,645	300
1935	3,303	185	1,618	115	4,921	300
1936	3,545	234	1,664	125	5,209	359
1937	4,021	235	1,822	125	5,843	360
1938	4,315	235	1,930	125	6,245	360

(See List 154, Board of Education.)

² Some candidates, however, fall so far short of the required standard that they fail even to secure their higher school certificate.

³ All of them, it may be significant to add, were held in either Oxford or Cambridge.

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20 went to the schools recently admitted to the privilege. If 60 out of 360 scholarships were being claimed by them, they might have been expected, on the assumption that postponement were practised as often by one type of school as the other, to take up about 32.

This question must inevitably be left open until more evidence is to hand; but, in advance, it is clear that the income limit sets a certain restriction upon the children who may offer themselves from the non-aided schools.¹ These scholarships were introduced 'to diffuse more widely the benefits of a university education', a purpose which could only be achieved if 'a high proportion of the awards were won by boys and girls who, without this assistance, would have had little or no chance of securing such an education'.² So far the scheme has apparently been successful; for it is estimated that about four-fifths of the boys and two-thirds of the girls who have been elected had begun

¹ Of 191 scholarships awarded and taken up in 1937, incomes of parents were distributed as follows (*Hansard*, December 8th, 1937):

Income range (per year)	SCHOLARS FROM			
	Aided Schools		Non-aided Schools	
	Grant Awarded	Honorary	Grant Awarded	Honorary
Below £800	161	—	14	1
£800-£1000	4	—	2	—
Over £1000	—	5	—	1
Not stated	—	1	—	2

It is understood from the Board of Education that the income range of parents or guardians whose protégés entered upon their scholarships in 1936, showed the bulk at that time to be under £600. In detail they were distributed as follows:

Income Range (per year)	Percentage of Boys and Girls Taking up Scholarships in 1936
No return submitted	1.8
Nil (no income)	.9
Up to £250	46.2
£250 to £400	20.0
£400 to £600	19.1
£600 to £800	7.1
£800 to £1000	3.1
Over £1000	1.8
Total	100

Those who submitted no return must have sought no financial assistance, so that their incomes probably exceeded £1000.

² *Report*, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Board of Education.

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their education in a public elementary school. In the decade 1928-37 alone, pupils from these latter schools gained as many as 73% of all the awards. As for the other 27%, 'it is clear to the Board . . . that the scholarships are being won by boys and girls whom they were mainly designed to benefit'.¹ In the future, even if non-aided schools compete seriously with aided, the original purposes of State scholarships will not have been frustrated so long as awards are not in fact made more often to boys and girls drawn from the upper income limits permitted and less often to those from the lower income limits. Were such a change introduced, a majority of awards would be comparatively small in value because they were being held by children whose parents could themselves, for the most part, make substantial contributions towards university expenses. In other words, such a situation would mean that a majority of State scholarships were merely rendering the path to a university rather less difficult for boys from moderately comfortable homes — say, where parents' incomes were between £600 and £1000 — instead of affording, as often to-day, the only possible chance of a university education to boys from much poorer homes. It could hardly be claimed any longer that State scholarships were helping to diffuse widely the benefits of a university education.

B. *Local*

The next most important source of help for needy students is to be found in awards made by local education authorities.² Unlike assistance given school children,³ university or senior awards by local education authorities are seldom the only award held in isolation by a student. In fact, having secured some other emolument may often be the condition for receiving

¹ *Report*, 1938, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Board of Education.

² Once more, subsidies given to intending teachers will be postponed for discussion until the next chapter and here more general aid for intending undergraduates considered.

³ See chap. ii, section 4.

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additional help from the local authority.¹ Awards of this last type might be reserved for students who had already won open scholarships or exhibitions at universities,² or for those, already State scholars, 'who, owing to lack of means, are unable to avail themselves of the scholarship without additional financial assistance'.³ To the latter group help would seldom be denied. In addition, however, most authorities offer provision to help students wanting to proceed to universities without scholarships. Such candidates for local aid, being considered to show less exceptional ability, usually receive on a less generous scale. Since, however, most of them, in contradistinction to the majority of recipients of open and State scholarships, will proceed to provincial universities rather than to Oxford or Cambridge, their expenses will be correspondingly lower. Awards of this lesser category, in order to separate them from the senior or major scholarships given to the more distinguished pupils, are often called exhibitions. In the absence of a scholarship, it is for the most part necessary to reach a high standard in the higher school certificate examination in order to satisfy the local authorities of the candidate's ability to benefit from a university education, and he must usually undertake to aim at an honours course. A few authorities, but only a few, hold their own special examination, on the basis of which their senior awards are made.

Since the local authorities expect many candidates to hold other awards, these bodies make the value of their own assistance depend not only upon parents' income, the number of dependent children in the family and the costliness of the course proposed, but also upon the extent and value of these other sources of aid. In short, in principle at least, each application is treated upon its own merits. The most that authorities will commit themselves to is usually a statement of the maximum

¹ Elsewhere, local help is often denied unless at least an attempt is made to win a scholarship of some kind.

² See below, pp. 263-65.

³ Sheffield Scholarship *Handbook*.

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parental income consistent with any assistance whatsoever and of the deduction which will be made from this income in consideration of each dependent child. The maximum income permitted — much more generous here than for school awards — amounts to £600 in the great majority of areas, but in one or two it falls as low as £450 and in London rises to £800. As for dependent children, £50 is almost invariably allowed for them, although on the one hand a few authorities restrict this sum to £25, while on the other in some areas the allowance is increased to £100 for another dependent child at a university. The maximum amount authorities would be willing to pay varies from £60 to £120 — under the L.C.C. to as much as £135 together with tuition fees, where students must be resident. Often, authorities will also publish the figure up to which, at the maximum, they would be willing to raise the total of aggregate awards held by candidates. At Oxford and Cambridge, for example, up to £225 is permitted for men by the Birmingham authorities, and £200 for women: they only allocate, on the other hand, up to £100, exclusive of tuition fees, for those going up to other universities. That the value of a grant should depend upon the necessity, or not, of living away from home, is understandable. Very often, however, the higher grant for residence is not available unless a scholarship has already been secured at a university where residence is inevitable.

In not a few areas, notably Kent, students are expected to accept a part of the grant they receive from the authorities in the form of a loan — in Kent, for example, one half is expected to be repaid. The loans may be free of interest, or, in a few areas, they may be charged at a rate up to 5%, but usually some insurance cover is insisted upon. Repayment is in general spread over four years after completing the course.

The final question arises, then, how far local education authorities do in fact assist undergraduates and how generously they treat them. During the academic year 1937-38, apart from students in training departments for teachers, 3794 men and

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1110 women in universities and colleges were aided by the L.E.A.s of England and Wales. If it is assumed that all these students were in universities in England and Wales, then it appears that they formed 1 in 7 (1 in 6 for women) among their companions.¹ In terms of percentages, 13.6% of men, and 16.6% of women, students outside training departments were assisted in this way. But if this would seem to show that, after all, local authorities are not helping a very impressive fraction of students in our universities, it would be well to compare these figures with the totality of those assisted in one way or another in our English and Welsh universities.² Such students, in 1937-38, numbered 11,734 among men and 4020 among women; in other words, the L.E.A.s accounted for one-third of the men (32.3%), and almost that fraction of the women (27.6%). Naturally, as it has already been emphasized, most of the students who benefit from local generosity are also given support from other funds and endowments. The fact remains, however, that one-third of all assisted students in universities throughout England and Wales are dependent for their education in part, at least, upon local education authorities throughout the country. The extent of such aid is bound to vary greatly from one student to the next, and it is only possible to say that on the average they received in this way some £59 12s. od. each.³ Authorities in different parts of the country, however, partly in accordance with their wealth and ability to pay, partly under the various promptings of generosity, differ greatly as to the average sums they will contribute. Unfortunately, statistics cannot be given to show how far authorities, from one area to the next, normally assist university students other than teachers in training. Taking both 'ordinary' and training students

¹ During the academic year 1937-38, there were in all 30,590 men and 8758 women in English and Welsh universities, while training departments in them accounted for 2706 men and 2074 women. There were, then, 27,884 men and 6684 women in universities and university colleges apart from training departments.

² See below, p. 270.

³ Altogether, the total of this aid amounted to £292,179.

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together, however, it is possible to show how the authorities varied in these awards during one recent year — 1935-36.

AWARDS TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY L.E.A.S¹

		<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Value</i>		
			£	s.	d.
<i>North</i>	CC	810	65	16	6
	CB	1332	51	8	8
	Total	2142	56	17	5
<i>Midlands</i>	CC	502	52	9	11
	CB	454	50	6	11
	Total	956	51	9	5
<i>East</i>	CC	213	74	9	6
	CB	94	43	14	5
	Total	307	65	1	2
<i>South-East</i>	CC	908	44	18	10
	CB	250	45	3	9
	Total	1158	44	18	11
<i>South-West</i>	CC	174	75	0	8
	CB	56	32	2	10
	Total	230	64	11	11
<i>London</i>		886	57	15	8
<i>England</i>	CC (without London)	2594	57	1	5
	CB	2186	45	1	10
	Total (with London)	5666	52	11	3
<i>Wales</i>	CC	192	33	14	5
	CB	684	30	7	5
	Total	876	31	2	1
<i>England and Wales</i>		6542	49	13	9

¹ The regions are those already described and used in chap. ii (p. 131). CC denotes county council authorities within the various regions and CB the county borough authorities. The statistics upon which these averages are based were kindly supplied by the Board of Education.

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In this same year 1935-36, 'ordinary' undergraduates taken alone received £55 on the average from L.E.A.s, so that the inclusion of trainees for teaching involves the substitution of a lower figure. Nor is it certain, moreover, that if 'ordinary' students were considered alone, the relative generosity of these regions might not be something different from that indicated above. These figures, then, must be taken for what they are worth, as giving a picture of all university awards by local authorities. It may be suspected, however, that the figures also reveal the areas in which 'ordinary' students alone can look for a greater or less degree of liberality.

As in the matter of school awards, in Wales, where a high proportion of students are assisted, the average value of help given to each student is low. If county councils are compared, Welsh authorities give £24 or so less than their English counterparts, while among county boroughs the difference amounts to some £15. A large proportion of those who receive aid from Welsh authorities, however, will graduate from colleges in the Principality, and will therefore be generally involved in smaller expenses than undergraduates across the border. Smaller demands are, therefore, made on local exchequers. In England, however, no such region can be singled out as one from which students proceed predominantly to cheaper universities. Nevertheless, the value of university awards moves between wide limits, in the single region of the South-West alone varying from as little as £32 2s. 10d. on the part of county boroughs to as much as £75 os. 8d. on the part of county councils. This difference between the two types of authority, however, is only the most extreme example of what can be traced both in the North and East and for England as a whole, as well as for Wales. Why the county boroughs should apparently lag behind the county councils in the generosity of their university awards is probably not far to seek. Since our universities and colleges are for the most part to be found within areas governed by county borough authorities, these latter are to a

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very large extent called upon to help only towards those university costs necessitated by students who can live in their own homes. County council authorities, on the other hand, must far more often assist in covering the larger expenses involved when residence at home is out of the question during the academic terms, and consequently their university grants on the whole must be the more liberal. The L.C.C., with a majority of London University colleges within its frontiers, can scarcely be linked with other county councils in this matter. But the higher cost of living in London introduces a need for more than average assistance, even on the part of students who are not obliged to live in hostels or lodgings.

Apart from these contrasts between the types of authorities, it will be observed that other significant differences appear between the different areas. Lowest of all in England is the South-East; then come the Midlands, followed by the North; most liberal, and close together, the South-West and East. Reasonable explanations of these differences are not easy to find, but it may be suggested that, once more, proximity to universities exerts a considerable influence; for undoubtedly the two last named regions are farthest from centres of university study, whereas the South-East is well served.¹

C. *University*

Apart from State scholarships and awards from local education authorities, the impecunious student can expect universities themselves and their colleges to offer opportunities of assistance through scholarships and exhibitions. Every university and college without exception presents such opportunities, but the number and value of those available is a matter of considerable variation. In the English provincial universities and for the most part in Scotland also, about 8 to 10 such emoluments are open to competition every year, varying in value from little

¹ For greater detail on this topic, see *The Poor Student and the University*, L. D. WHITELEY (1933).

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more than £20 or so, to complete coverage of fees and of residence in college or hostel. The majority of the constituent colleges of London University are able to offer each about 5, a few among them displaying a liberality beyond the average.

Oxford and Cambridge, however, with their peculiarly rich endowments possess outstanding facilities for relieving students of all or part of their monetary obligations at the university. All their various colleges are endowed with scholarships and exhibitions, the majority being 'open' to competition from all candidates, whatever their backgrounds, others 'closed' to those from specified schools or parts of the country. To separate them out, however, is not an easy matter, since they are not clearly distinguished in official publications.¹ In recent years, the Board of Education has analysed the open scholarships. Thus, during the year which ended in August 1938 it appears that in all 473 of these scholarships were awarded (61 of them to women) and 325 exhibitions (62 to women).² To ignore closed scholarships, however, is to overlook an important category, not only because they affect the fortunes of large numbers of children, especially boys, coming from favoured schools or districts, but because these scholarships, despite their title, are sometimes thrown open to other candidates where none strictly eligible for benefit present themselves. Scrutiny of calendars from the various colleges and of the Students' Handbooks reveals quite a profusion of such 'closed' emoluments, especially for the protégés of the more eminent boys' 'public' schools. Unfortun-

¹ e.g. in the *Oxford Gazette* and the *Cambridge Reporter*.

² *Education in 1938*, Table 52. The previous education of these students was also detailed.

<i>Institution Previously Attended</i>	<i>Number of Scholars and Exhibitioners</i>			
	<i>Entering Oxford Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Entering Cambridge Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Grant-aided				
Secondary Schools	171	41	194	31
Other Secondary				
Schools	131	24	165	23
Other Institutions	9	2	5	2

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ately, however, it is impossible to arrive at a complete count in this way. The 154 indicated for men at Oxford in 1934-35, and the 139 for Cambridge, can be taken to give little more than a general picture of the distribution among various types of boys' school.¹ As for reservation by locality, boys from certain parts of the country, particularly in the North of England, are favoured in the restriction to them of scholarships and exhibitions. Girls, on the other hand, have relatively few reserved for schools, although most of the women's colleges have one or two given specially for girls who have been educated in a certain fashion or whose fathers are attached to a certain profession.

In short, then, a total of about 75 privileged places at Oxford and 65 at Cambridge are available for women seeking admission from year to year, while men can apparently rely upon close on 500 scholarships or exhibition places at Oxford, and at Cambridge perhaps rather more. As always with the question of scholarships, however, mere numbers can tell little of the extent to which poor students are in fact being assisted towards paying for their education. In the first place, where value is concerned, exhibitions must be separated from scholarships. Nowadays the value attached to a large number of places offered from both categories is dependent upon a student's other financial resources, and particularly upon his parent's income. The line of distinction, however, is drawn in the maximum value attached to them. Scholarships are usually worth about £100 at best

¹ These figures are quoted by D. V. GLASS, *Opportunity and the Older Universities*, *Political Arithmetic*, *op. cit.*, Table X. Classified by type of school, he showed:

TYPE OF SCHOOL	OXFORD		CAMBRIDGE	
	Scholarships	Exhibitions	Scholarships	Exhibitions
Boarding 'Public'	83 (20)	13 (7)	37 (6)	55 (17)
Day 'Public'	31 (18)	4 (2)	4 (3)	14 (8)
'Grammar'	15 (13)	6 (6)	3 (3)	23 (14)
Council-governed (with Welsh Intermediate)	2 (2)	—	—	1 (1)
TOTAL	131 (53)	23 (15)	44 (12)	95 (42)

The number of schools concerned is shown in brackets. The author also gives a great deal more statistical detail about both open and closed scholarships and exhibitions.

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(although, very occasionally, they rise to £120 or more), whereas exhibitions rarely exceed £80 at the outside. In the aggregate, both vary widely as to their normal maximum: the normal minimum, received by scions of the well-to-do, is £30.

D. *School and Private*

To turn now to the last two categories of assistance, *viz.* that awarded by schools on the one hand and by private bodies on the other, it is unfortunately impossible to detail in any precise statement how many, and at what value, are held at the universities each year. As for the first group, collected information confirms what might have been assumed *a priori*, namely, that schools with the highest fees give, on the average, the most valuable scholarships.¹ As always, however, averages mask the extreme differences which exist between the most exalted schools and their more humble counterparts. The former may send their protégés forward with an income of £100 or more a year, whereas the latter can often guarantee no more than a mere £15 or £20. Furthermore, the full numbers of students financed in this way is not known. As for individual schools, the numbers they can give are as widely separated as the values already mentioned. The municipal secondary school, apart from small sums subscribed, perhaps, by old pupils and amounting usually to no more than prizes helpful towards buying a few

¹ A questionnaire sent to boys' schools in 1934-35 yielded the following analysis (from GLASS, *op. cit.*, Table XVII):

THE ANNUAL VALUE OF SCHOOL LEAVING SCHOLARSHIPS (1934-35)

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Boys in the Schools Concerned in the Sample</i>	<i>Average Fee per Boy in £'s</i>	<i>Average Annual Value of Leaving Scholarships per 100 boys in the Sample</i>
Boarding 'Public'	9,471	149.46	216.79
Day 'Public'	7,678	20.00	134.59
'Grammar'	16,348	14.88	38.03
Council-governed	41,403	12.56	21.47

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books or instruments, can rarely offer more than one or two. Wealthy 'public' schools, however, in addition to scholarships and exhibitions reserved for their pupils by the university, can usually promise some 20 allotted solely by the school authorities.

Private bodies prepared to give help to suitable candidates are too many to be enumerated in detail. They include City Corporations like the Grocers' and Drapers' Companies, and special trusts like the Mansbridge National Trust Fund, the Stapley Trust, the Wall Fund, the Kitchener Memorial Fund and, for the Universities of Scotland, the Carnegie Trust. Once more, there is no source of complete information, nor are particulars of individual appointments published by all the bodies concerned. Probably the two last-named above are the most well known, if not the most important, and fortunately a certain amount of detail is to hand for them.

A fund, raised at the end of the Great War in memory of Lord Kitchener, forms the basis of the scholarships named after him. They are available for the sons of officers and men, living or dead, belonging to His Majesty's Forces.¹ The number given, as well as the value of each award, apparently approach no sort of standard from year to year; for in the past 15 years awards have varied from a mere 65 to as many as 126, while the sums allocated to successful applicants² vary in accordance with individual need, being from £50 a year or less up to as much as £250. Since from one-half to three-quarters of these scholarships, however, are held by boys at Oxford or Cambridge, these grants are probably often supplementary to other means of assistance,³

¹ Daughters, it seems, are excluded rather by accident than by intention. At one time in the early years of their existence the administrators of the Fund would have been willing to consider the inclusion of girls had there been any expression of public opinion on the subject. But there was none.

² Appointment depends entirely upon application, no examination being required.

³ According to GLASS (*op. cit.*, Table XIV) the percentages of Kitchener scholarships taken up at Oxford and Cambridge in the 10 years 1924-25 to 1933-34 were 53.8, 76.1, 68.3, 71.0, 75.8, 66.7, 62.9, 66.1, 55.7, 65.3. He also gives statistical detail concerning the types of school from which these boys came who held Kitchener scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge. In the

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and consequently limited to more moderate figures than this maximum.

Finally, the activities of the Carnegie Trust on behalf of students of Scottish extraction¹ are important enough to deserve special mention. Thus, during the academic year 1937-38, 3281 or 35.1% of all students in the Scottish universities, were in receipt of such assistance.² Since the beginning of the century, this Trust has been giving substantial subventions towards maintaining in Scotland the tradition of wide access to the university on the part even of the very poorest. No student is eligible for acceptance as a beneficiary of the Trust where the family income, after inclusion of any financial assistance from other bursaries or scholarships, and after certain allowances have been made, exceeds some £320. These allowances, it is true, are many, but, even before deductions have been made, total incomes in the selected families are remarkably small, averaging no more than £239 1s. od.³ Students themselves held on the

¹ Defined either by the Scottish birth of one grandparent, or else by two years having been spent at a Scottish State school immediately prior to application.

² All the detailed information in this section was kindly supplied by the Carnegie Trust or secured by permission from its files. For the four universities, the statistics during the year in question were as follows:

	<i>Beneficiaries of the Carnegie Trust</i>		
	<i>Total of Students</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Students</i>
St. Andrews	885	261	29.5
Glasgow	4,139	1,757	42.4
Aberdeen	1,145	510	44.5
Edinburgh	3,174	753	23.7

³ Average total incomes for beneficiaries' families at the four universities vary little. In the same year, 1937-38, it was £265 5s. 6d. at St. Andrews, £239 8s. od. at Glasgow, £203 17s. 6d. at Aberdeen, and £253 12s. od. at Edinburgh. At the same time, there were slight variations between incomes represented in the different faculties. Taking all the universities together, the average total income in Arts was £218 3s. 6d., in Science £247 17s. od., in Medicine £271 13s. 6d., and in Divinity £216 12s. 6d. These figures are based upon a sample analysis of

same 10 years, the percentage going to boarding 'public' schools never fell below 35.2 and in 1934 reached 60.9. Day 'public' schools normally claimed from 21% to 23% although the figure rose to 30% odd in one year. The 'grammar' school share hovered about 11% to 14% and council-governed from 15% to 20%, but occasionally sinking to 6% (*ibid.*, Table XV).

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average only £25 worth of other awards outside those made by the Trust,¹ yet the value of assistance under the Trust is never lavish. It makes part-payment of tuition fees each year, except for those in extreme necessity where full fees may be granted. In general, however, the annual grants are:

Arts, £9 a year, i.e. £27 in all for an ordinary degree or £36 in all for honours.

Science, £18 a year, i.e. £54 in all for an ordinary degree or £72 for honours.

Dentistry, £15 in each of 2 years and £10 for 1 year, i.e. £40 in all.

Medicine, £20 a year for 4 years, i.e. £80 in all.

Divinity, Music, Law (LL.B.), and Commerce, £7 a year for 3 years, i.e. £21 in all.

Law (B.L.), £5 a year for 3 years, i.e. £15 in all.

In this way, however, and further helped by a fairly generous supply of other bursaries, the offspring of poor families are enabled to take their places at Scottish universities.

E. Summary

Since so many avenues to assistance are, therefore, open to boys and girls going up to universities, and since individually the various types evade complete specification of the numbers involved, it is important to ask whether there is any means of knowing how many students are assisted in one way or another, even if the substance of the help afforded to one student may still be very different from that enjoyed by his neighbour. Fortunately, aggregate figures are available and show that during the academic year 1937-38, 41.2% of undergraduates

¹ Most at St. Andrews where the average rose to £37 3s. od., and least in Aberdeen where it fell to £22; or, among the faculties, most in Divinity, at £33 12s. 6d., and least in Medicine, at £18 6s. od.

returns from the families of applicants, the faculties and universities in the sample being balanced in the same proportion as when considering all beneficiaries. The sample included 328 returns, i.e. 1 in 10 of the total.

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in Great Britain 'were in receipt of assistance from outside sources (i.e. other than personal and private sources) towards payment of their university expenses'.¹ To descend to greater detail, institutions may be grouped conveniently as they were earlier in this chapter.

ASSISTED STUDENTS IN UNIVERSITIES, 1937-38²

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	<i>Number Assisted</i>	<i>% of Total Full-time Students</i>	<i>Number Assisted</i>	<i>% of Total Full-time Students</i>	<i>Number Assisted</i>	<i>% of Total Full-time Students</i>
Oxford and Cambridge	4,160	44.4	659	47.2	4,819	44.7
London	2,268	24.2	1,089	32.5	3,357	26.4
English Provincial Univs.	4,057	42.0	1,775	55.1	5,832	45.3
All England	10,485	36.9	3,523	44.2	14,008	38.5
Wales	1,249	57.3	497	63.0	1,746	58.8
Scotland	3,269	44.8	1,229	48.3	4,498	45.7
Great Britain	15,003	39.6	5,249	46.5	20,252	41.2

It will be seen that, as might be expected from its all-round generosity towards education, the highest proportion of assisted students is found in Wales. Some way behind follows Scotland and the English provincial universities, then Oxford and Cambridge, and finally London last of all. There can be no doubt that the disadvantage apparently suffered in this respect by students at London University is mainly accounted for by inclusion in the latter of the medical schools. Thus, in the academic year under consideration, men and women studying in the medical schools³ numbered as many as 5256 out of an aggregate of 12,726 in the various institutions of London

¹ *Returns of the University Grants Committee, op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

² University Grants Committee, *ibid.*

³ Including both the College of the Pharmaceutical Society and the Royal Dental Hospital.

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University, i.e. 41.3%. But this large block of students were without question assisted to a very much smaller extent than other students in the university.¹ For the latter student body alone, the percentage assisted at London would probably appear about 5% or so below the average for all England, some 10% behind Oxford and Cambridge, and even more behind the English provincial universities. Why London should in any case be so far behind in this matter of assistance it is not altogether easy to tell, but it may well be because, apart from medicals, a larger fraction can live at home, while attending the university, than elsewhere. Thus, in London, outside the medical and associated schools, students living at home represented 61.4% of the total during 1937-38, whereas in the English universities and colleges outside Oxford, Cambridge and London this fraction fell to 55.9%, in Wales to 48.5% and in Scotland to 59.3%. The more students are able to attend a university without living away from home, the more they might be expected to graduate without assistance. It is not surprising, then, to find that, apart from Oxford and Cambridge, the percentages of assisted students on the one hand and of those living away from home on the other hand are positively correlated. If the same correlation characterized the older universities, their very small fractions living at home would be associated with exceptionally high fractions of students assisted in one way or another. On the contrary, the above table shows that in respect of assistance Oxford and Cambridge are next to London. Despite the virtually complete residential character of these universities, the degree to which their undergraduates are subsidized rises scarcely higher than the whole university average throughout Great Britain. Another principle is at work in the older universities, for to their cloisters are attracted the wealthy who are able, independent of grants, to live away from home.

The statistics of assisted students also reveal that in each and

¹ See chap. v, p. 319.

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every group of universities assisted women form a larger fraction among their contemporaries than assisted men do among theirs. Two main explanations can be given. In the first place, a higher proportion of women than men students are normally destined for the teaching world and consequently hold teachers' training grants throughout their university careers.¹ In the second place, there is in general less desire in the hearts of well-to-do parents to send their daughters to complete their education at a university. For their sons, such a conclusion has for generations been largely unquestioned, but not so for their daughters. Oxford and Cambridge have, in any case, only a limited accommodation for women² and a relatively high standard of ability must be reached before entrance is secured. At neither of the ancient universities can there be found to any extent among women the counterparts of the wealthy commoners who, interested more in social or athletic events than in academic attainments, frequent the men's colleges.

Even when it is known, however, that 40% and more of students have their finances eased from one source or another, it can by no means be assumed that this same fraction measures the degree to which relatively poor students are represented in the university population. From the above account of scholarships it has emerged at several points that many of those who hold emoluments come, not from the poorest, but from the more well-to-do sections of the community. Holders of school-leaving scholarships in particular fall very often within this latter category; similarly, those who occupy closed scholarships or exhibitions,³ together, apparently, with beneficiaries of the Kitchener Fund. Further, the evidence shows also that boys who win open competitive scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge come predominantly from 'public' schools, where fees are such that the great majority of parents must clearly be in a

¹ See chap. v, pp. 298-300.

² *vide supra*, p. 235.

³ *vide supra*, pp. 265-66.

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comfortable position.¹ To offset these groups, however, it is clear that children from moderately placed, if not from poor, homes are well represented among State scholars,² among those assisted by local education authorities, and undoubtedly among men and women in receipt of government training grants for teachers.³

§6 THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOLAR AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

In order to arrive at a more definite answer as to what chances the impecunious boy or girl may have of some assistance towards university education, the best course would be to ask what chances those who pass through the public elementary schools⁴ have of finally arriving at university status. Unfortunately, however, no statistics are available to make the calculation of such a fraction possible.⁵ It would be satisfactory if those who go up to the universities from public elementary (P.E.) schools in any particular year could be related to the totals from which they derived in those schools. But even that is not feasible.⁶ All that can be done is to relate these same ex-P.E. entrants to the total of all university entrants at a given

¹ GLASS, *op. cit.*, goes into considerable statistical detail comparing scholarship winners from different types of boys' schools. His careful analysis of open and closed scholarships taken together must, however, be accepted with caution; for as the author himself emphasizes, the basic material from the *Oxford Gazette* and the *Cambridge Reporter* was 'confused, since open and closed scholarships were given without any clear distinction, and inadequate, since more open scholarships were awarded than the records showed' (p. 12).

² *vide supra*, pp. 256-57.

³ It must be emphasized that the above figures for assisted students include this latter category although special consideration of it has been postponed to the next chapter.

⁴ In Scotland they are called primary schools, but following the University Grants Committee, the one description, P.E. school, will be adhered to here.

⁵ It is known that the percentages of children who leave grant-aided secondary schools in England and Wales for universities or university training departments, is as low as 5.2% (6.6% boys and 3.6% girls). The aided secondary schools, however, cannot be taken to give satisfactory information concerning the poor; for many fee-payers and others in these schools - especially in the day 'public' schools which they include - derive from well-to-do homes.

⁶ See Appendix.

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time. But that is a very different process from relating them to their contemporaries in the P.E. schools, and gives no answer to the question at issue — what chance there is of a P.E. school child's climbing to a university.

Upon this subject there has recently been such controversy that the University Grants Committee have published some detailed statistics of the proportion, among the total of entrants to universities, who started their education¹ in a public elementary school, as follows:²

FULL-TIME GRADUATING AND DIPLOMA STUDENTS WHO BEGAN THEIR EDUCATION IN A P.E.S.

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	<i>As % of all men entrants with homes in the</i>		<i>As % of all women entrants with homes in the</i>		<i>As % of all entrants with homes in the</i>	
	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>U.K.</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>U.K.</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>U.K.</i>
<i>Entering for the First Time in the Academic Year 1937-38</i>						
London						
University*	570	30.2	252	24.8	822	28.3
England†	2,064	49.3	697	37.1	2,761	45.5
Wales	434	91.2	166	83.8	600	89.0
Scotland	965	63.1	406	58.8	1,371	61.7
Total, Gt.						
Britain†	3,463	55.9	1,269	45.9	4,732	52.8
<i>Entering Christmas Term 1938 and Spring Term 1939</i>						

Oxford Uni-						
versity	290	24.3	60	23.5	350	24.2
<i>Entering October 1938 for One Year Course of Training</i>						

Institute of						
Education,						
London	74	73.3	69	64.5	143	68.7

* Except the Institute of Education.

† Except Oxford, Cambridge, and Institute of Education, London.

¹ Those who *start their education* at a P.E. school must be distinguished from the ex-P.E. pupils defined by the Board of Education as boys and girls who attended P.E. schools for at least two years prior to *admission to a secondary school*.

² *Returns of the University Grants Committee, 1937-38, op. cit., p. 5.*

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Throughout Great Britain, then, apart from Oxford, Cambridge and the Institute of Education, London, slightly more than half of all entrants to the universities started their education in P.E. schools. They may have stayed in these schools only a short time before proceeding to private schools at the primary stage, or they may have entered private establishments instead of grant-aided schools at the secondary stage;¹ but at least they spent a certain period in public elementary classrooms. It is not surprising to discover that in Wales, close upon 90% have this humble origin, and in Scotland, although their virtually public elementary schools are less whole-heartedly patronized, the fraction of their university students who can be classified in this way rises almost to two-thirds. Throughout England (with the omission once more of the two older universities and the Institute of Education, London) rather less than one-half of undergraduates attended the State primary school at some time in their careers. For Cambridge no statistics are given; but among two terms' entrants to Oxford, almost one-quarter aligned themselves on the side of quondam elementary scholars.² Measured in this way, then, P.E. children contribute

¹ How many in fact go from the P.E., into a grant-aided secondary, school before proceeding to the university is clear from a comparison of the 1516 ex-P.E. boys and girls in England who left these secondary schools during the school year, 1936-37, in order to enter English universities (apart from Oxford and Cambridge), with the 2064 students who had begun their education in a P.E. school and who during 1937-38 entered the same English universities (with the further exception of the Institute of Education, London). Or from another point of view, it is important to notice that 65.2% of all pupils who left aided secondary schools for universities during that same year, 1936-37, were classifiable as ex-P.E. scholars. Still other pupils who had passed from a P.E., into a grant-aided secondary, school would enter a university, but only after a certain lapse of time from leaving school altogether.

² In the absence of figures for Cambridge from the University Grants Committee, figures kindly supplied by Mr. C. E. B. Blumenthal of Cambridge are interesting. He analysed entrants to two colleges from homes in the British Isles, and counted up ex-elementary school boys. In one college, entrants in each of three years - 1935-37 - were thus analysed and on the average ex-P.E. boys contributed only 14% to the total, while in another college, where entrants during the single year, 1937, were examined, this percentage was given as 15.7. When allowance was made for the fact that the first college is about twice the size of the second, an average of 14.9% was given for the two colleges combined. This

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a reputable fraction to university entrants, and boys, interestingly enough, more than girls. However, apart altogether from the fact that, as already emphasized, these results are based upon no more than entrants to the universities during three terms at the most, and that some of the elementary school children no doubt derive from homes of some substance, especially in Wales and Scotland and other districts where such schools are regarded with more general respect than is normal in the greater part of England, it is important to reiterate¹ that the figures above in no way measure the elementary child's chance of university training. A comparison of ex-P.E., with other, entrants to universities is not to relate each of these to the populations from which they respectively derive, i.e. to relate those who go up from P.E. schools to the total of their companions in those schools, and other entrants to the universities to their own contemporaries outside the P.E. school system.

If no such accurate retracing can be achieved, however, it is nevertheless possible to show how different are the dimensions of the populations with which the two groups of students should be compared. Thus in March 1938, 70.4% of all children under the age of 11 throughout England and Wales were to be found enrolled in P.E. schools. In other words, young children within these schools, numbering at that time 2,818,789, were 2.4 times as many as the 1,186,211 housed in all other types of school or still at home. At the same time there were 17,869 boys and girls in grant-aided secondary schools, many of whom no doubt had earlier attended a public elementary school, while in

¹ As it has already been emphasized on p. 273 above.

figure, it will be noticed, stands in marked contrast to the 24.3% above for men at Oxford, and the question arises whether, when a full account is returned for Cambridge, the proportion of ex-P.E. boys there will appear to this extent lower than at the sister university. It is claimed that the two colleges considered in this sample are representative of the whole university, and suggested that a complete return for the men's colleges at Cambridge will not differ greatly from the figure given by the sample. Until the next report from the University Grants Committee appears, when a complete return is promised, no conclusive answer can be given to this question.

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addition a significant number of children, then in special schools of one kind or another, can to all intents and purposes be left out of the count as aspirants to university training. The P.E. schools, in short, account for almost three times as many children as other primary schools where the foundations might have been laid for a university career. Consequently, if the chance of achieving this career were the same for the elementary scholar as for his contemporaries whose education started elsewhere, then among entrants to universities rather more than 70% would announce an elementary school as the first step in their formal education; that is, ex-P.E. undergraduates would be almost three times as many as the rest. The situation, however, is quite the reverse, as the above Table¹ reveals. If all the statistics given there for England and Wales are taken together, it appears that 45.9% of all entrants to universities in those two countries had started their schooling within the P.E. school system.² Clearly, the elementary-school child's chance of reaching a university, far from proving equal to other children's, is very substantially lower.

§7 UNIVERSITY COSTS AND THE BIRTH-RATE

What general conclusion can be drawn from the statistics of assisted undergraduates combined with those of young people who, once on the registers of State elementary schools, travel finally to the apex of our educational system? The conclusion is simple, indeed commonplace. Not only can very few who begin life in the humblest of our schools hope to secure the wherewithal of offsetting their relative poverty and rising to the expensive gown of the graduate: but even the majority of other

¹ *vide supra*, p. 274.

² For men the corresponding percentage is 48.0 and for women 40.7. Scottish percentages would no doubt be higher if they could be known, but so would the fraction of all children starting their education in P.E. schools in Scotland.

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children¹ must, despite an extensive network of scholarships etc., contrive to finance their career with no outside assistance whatsoever. The parents of many such fortunate youngsters can, no doubt, readily afford the expenses thus incurred, but some of them, notably from the professional classes, enjoy less liberal incomes, and are only enabled to aspire to university status for their offspring by dint of careful financial management and by cutting down unnecessary expenditure to a minimum. Unquestionably to such men a large, or even a moderately-sized, family seems as unnecessary as other extravagances, and would be as sedulously avoided. An undergraduate career might be financed for one child or occasionally for two, but not beyond.

Such curtailment of families, however, does not end where full charges have to be met. Elsewhere, the amount of assistance given, too slight to be a substitute for an allowance (which must be relied upon from a parent), scarcely more than permits a student a few extra luxuries. Assistance on this meagre scale is far from exceptional. Beyond the scope even of such, undergraduates' parents must always be prepared to support them during almost half the year in vacation, if not to make further payments to the university.

Above all these considerations, however, must be placed another which will influence much family policy at a far earlier date. The ambitious parent will reflect that, if he is determined upon sending his child to wear cap and gown, he cannot rely upon the benefits of any assistance whatsoever, because in the university world no more than in the school can he feel any certainty of enjoying such good fortune. Competition is keen, and nothing can be guaranteed in advance. He will feel moreover, even if not in possession of the concrete evidence, that as much depends upon what happens to his child in all the years leading up to the university gateway, as upon the final scholarship examination or the mood of a public body. During those early years it is possible to strengthen a chance of the ultimate

¹ Apart from those who find their way to the University of Wales.

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scholarship, but only by a close study of the educational market. On the one hand, as it has appeared in this chapter, boys who can be sent to day 'public', if not to boarding 'public', schools stand a much higher chance of success in this respect than those whose schooling is entrusted to council-governed or 'grammar' schools.¹

There is no parallel evidence for girls, but the published lists of university scholarship successes show that certain well-known and expensive schools usually claim the lion's share. For girls, then, no less than boys, certain schools in virtue of staff, equipment and size of classes offer quite superior opportunities for the scholarship candidate. Now, it has already been shown that superior schooling comes only within the reach of many purses by a compression of the family circle. If eyes are upon the university, that schooling must be prolonged into the eighteenth or nineteenth year. Meanwhile the home, especially the cramped home, must be turned into a quiet study in which the scholarship candidate has to be encouraged, or pressed, into a fruitful burning of midnight oil. This path, then, arduous alike for children and parents, is an additional influence depressing the birth-rate.

Nonetheless, its issue remains at best precarious. The more resolute parent will, therefore, budget for upwards of three years' full university expenses. To this end, a saving might be effected during a child's earlier years by attendance at inexpensive schools. But that would be to exchange one risk for another — to sidetrack the scholarship hazard, but magnify the danger that final graduation will be at a poor standard.² Increasingly the graduate with a mere pass, or inferior honours, degree is finding it useless as a passport to higher forms of employment.

¹ See chap. iii, p. 176; and E. L. CLARKE, *The Recruitment of the Nation's Leaders*, Part II, *op. cit.*

² This exchange of risk is not universally feasible, e.g. no girl can be sure of entrance to Oxford or Cambridge even as a commoner unless she has reached a standard of school studies fitting her at least to sit the scholarship papers and acquit herself well.

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Ambitious and realistically-minded families are accordingly being forced to give greater weight to costly schooling as a necessary preliminary to successful graduation. On the whole the commonest policy of such homes appears to be both to invest in such a school training as may offer reasonable hope of a scholarship to the university, and at the same time to put by funds in case ill-luck involves them in full university expenditure. If so, while a relatively small section of the community may be in question, there can be no doubt of the intensity of pressure exerted on its fertility by the determination to claim a share of higher education.

CHAPTER V

PROFESSIONS

§ I INTRODUCTION. EXTENT OF PROFESSIONS

It is a source of great pride to this country that on the whole the liberal tradition in university education is still closely followed. The feeling is still treasured in academic circles that what undergraduates will carry away from them, is a certain habit of thought rather than an overdose of information. Desirable as this situation may be in other ways, it does however leave the graduate still, in the main, incapable of earning his living without further training. Such training may, in some cases, cost him nothing more. It may only be a question of learning the routine of a business, or, if his university training has already bordered more closely on the professional than on the liberal as in some scientific subject such as chemistry, merely a question of a short probationary experience in some firm or governmental establishment before he becomes a full-fledged professional worker. On the other hand, it very frequently happens that parents must budget for further years of expensive training for their children, leading up to another examination and final entry of an association or registering body, if they are to guarantee their offspring a well-to-do living as doctors, lawyers, accountants or members of some other honourable profession.

How far the unfruitful years, when young men and women are being trained and before they can qualify to draw the comfortable fee, weigh as an additional burden on parental purses, is not a simple problem. There are three main methods by which professional status may be acquired: in virtue of a university degree and little more; by further training after university life has closed; or by qualifying without having passed

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through a university at all. For those who follow the last, the preliminary to taking examinations and attaining full status may either be serving years in an office or getting training in some non-university institution, or both. Although it is impossible to obtain exact statistics, there can be little doubt that entrants through each of these three portals have increased significantly in almost all professions since the Seventies, when serious attention first began to be turned to tightening up the regulations governing professional workers, to levelling up their individual qualifications, and, therefore, to the formation of associations for facilitating and regulating such matters.¹ The steady and almost universal growth of membership in these associations² may be taken as a good index of the gradually enlarging burden of cost for professional training, because to join the associations means to have paid training fees large or small. Again, as the older associations have swollen, new ones have blossomed forth at their side, sometimes, as among the architects, in numbers sufficiently embarrassing to lead to amalgamations. In the following pages, both because of lack of available space and information, it will only be possible to consider a selection from the older and better-known professions, a selection which, however, is wide and representative.³ It is virtually impossible to frame a satisfactory definition of a profession which is at the same time exclusive; but it should be noted that there is a growing group of semi-professionals in a no-man's-land between profession and skilled trade — such occupations as horticulture or physical and beauty culture, for instance, in which increasing numbers of women in particular are finding agreeable avenues of employment.⁴ This group,

¹ *vide supra*, chap. i, pp. 33-35.

² For numbers in professional associations from the year 1851, see Table A.

³ Most of the following details come from *Choice of Careers*, H.M. Stationery Office.

⁴ The entrance of women into the older professions also has, of course, been increasing since the Great War — as appears from scattered figures available. More than 6000 women, including specialists in every branch of medicine, are to be found to-day on the Medical Register, and there are hospitals entirely

EXTENT OF PROFESSIONS

despite its importance to-day, will have to be passed over.

Exactly how far does the world of the professions extend to-day? Its extent must be the measure of money invested in preliminary training and in purchasing a niche for the individual. Unfortunately, statistical difficulties which present insuperable problems stand in the way of a precise and exhaustive answer. Figures of membership are kept on registers or in the books of associations. Such records, however, are usually only of entrants rather than of total membership, and frequently give no guarantee that, e.g. one who has been called to the Bar or earlier entered an Inn of Court, is now practising law. Again, records such as the Medical Register, preserve the names of practitioners who have long since ceased to practise, whereas the roll of dentists, since an annual fee is necessary to prevent a name from being struck off, tends faithfully to reflect only those still active. Apart from registers and books of associations, there is no available means of assessing the membership of a profession. Where there are several associations to one profession, as among the accountants, there is bound to be overlapping. There is, in consequence, much overstatement in any total obtained by adding their membership together. Sometimes, as with dentists, because enrolment is a legal prerequisite to public activity, and exceptions to the rule are not likely for historical or other reasons to be noticeably present, a single register gives a very close indication of all practising that profession. Registration for nursing, on the other hand, remains voluntary, and has in the past conferred little advantage in return for the trouble. The consequent record of nurses continues to be wholly unreliable as a guide to total current numbers. Elsewhere registers do not exist at all, and associations,

staffed by them. About 20 women every year qualify from dental schools. Between 1922 and 1937, 50 women were called to the Bar in Gray's Inn. In 1933, 4 women had qualified as house property managers, in 1938, 58. The Society of Incorporated Accountants boasted a female membership of one in 1919, 45 in 1931, 67 in 1937.

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membership of which may be more or less profitable to members, take their place. Thus the membership of some associations, if it could be known, would fairly reflect the total of practising professionals, while the membership of others, which offer negligible facilities to recruits, would not. Finally, such figures as are forthcoming may refer to England, or without distinction to England and Wales, or even to the British Isles.¹

While, therefore, Table A listing development over the years in the membership of professional associations will offer some index of how the ranks have steadily deepened, it must be recognized as being far from an accurate indicator. But the general upward trend of numbers cannot be denied. It may be of interest to measure the recent extent of this trend in a few leading professions, — a small sample for which reliable statistics are to hand. In the following Table 'State elementary school-teachers' include the teachers of practical instruction centres maintained by L.E.A.s. Since membership of the Institution of Civil Engineers often admits a man, without further examination, to membership also of the newer engineering associations and represents a sort of *passe-partout* in the engineering world, it is unlikely that civil engineers prefer to belong to other bodies rather than the Institution, and highly probable that almost all do belong.

The professions that will now be discussed in detail consist first of a medical group — dentists, veterinary surgeons, pharmacists, medical practitioners, and nurses — followed by a familiar company of well-established bodies — teachers, civil servants,² the church and the law, architects and engineers — after which rank the newer business professions in accountancy, brokerage, banking, and local government service, and finally, such widely different groups as social workers, surveyors, land and estate agents, auctioneers, and the merchant navy. Of

¹ See above, chap. i, p. 64, footnote 1, where similar cautions were advanced. See also *The Professions*, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, pp. 504-508.

² i.e. the 'professional' grades as classified on p. 285. The phrase will be used in this sense for the rest of the chapter.

AGE AND QUALIFICATIONS

SAMPLE OF LEADING PROFESSIONS

	<i>Total Numbers of Membership</i>		
	1921	1931	1937
State elementary school-teachers:			
men*	36,418	43,775	48,405
Grant-aided secondary full-time			
school-teachers: men	7,888	10,925	12,679
women	9,780	10,769	11,772
Institute of Civil Engineers	8,998	10,609	11,748
Medical Register	45,408	55,604	59,010
Civil Service: 'professional' grades:			
administrative	<i>Not</i>	1,734	1,946
executive	<i>so</i>	15,584	16,132
tax inspectorate	<i>classi-</i>	1,767	1,728
other inspectorates	<i>fied</i>	2,508	3,367

* Women teachers of this category have not increased over the period, probably because exceptionally large numbers were drawn in during the Great War.

these, civil servants, the large majority of post-primary teachers and doctors, and nearly all scientific workers of professional status pass through universities: the same is true of a large proportion of civil engineers, barristers and Church of England clergy. Whatever additional post-graduate training any of these may require, it must be clear at the outset that first of all, the expenses of a university education, and all the preliminaries it involves, await them.

§ 2 AGE AND PRELIMINARY QUALIFICATIONS

These candidates can normally enter upon their professional training as soon as they graduate. Others do not have to wait until such an advanced age before attaining full status: nevertheless, they must depend on their parents' pockets until they

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are 20 or 21, because that is the earliest age permitted either for taking a qualifying examination, as with pharmacists and non-university architects, or for registration, as with nurses, or for obtaining a certificate, as with captains in the merchant navy and sanitary inspectors, or, finally, for joining a necessary association, like the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. Social workers and men hoping for business posts of professional status abroad can rarely be placed before they reach the age of 25.

It is natural that a certain degree of maturity should be insisted upon among candidates for posts of trust, responsibility, and leadership in the community. A correlative of maturity is the previous attainment of minimum educational standards before permission is granted for a young man or woman to enter as a candidate. Matriculation or the school certificate is a universal minimum, sometimes with the proviso that certain subjects shall have been taken in the examination, such as higher mathematics for candidates of accountancy in Scotland. Occasionally, as for nurses and surveyors, the professional body will set a preliminary examination for those who have for some reason or other been passed over by school examinations. This stage being reached, it is desirable for young people, whatever their ultimate destination, to proceed to a university degree. For many branches of teaching and indeed of other professions, such as those who hope to be called to the Bar in Northern Ireland, university graduation is virtually compulsory. Examples were given above showing where graduation is usual though not compulsory, and where it is aimed at among a large proportion of young people. Elsewhere, if a man is to rise to the top of his profession, it may be almost essential for him to possess a degree, and many professional bodies strongly advise this course even in spheres where degrees might not naturally be expected, as among accountants, architects, and even estate managers. For the rest, where children are not intending to enter the universities at all, it is well for them to stay at school

LENGTH AND METHODS OF TRAINING

for a year or two after achieving the minimum of the school certificate. Qualifications of a more exclusive type are required in many branches of business, especially in certain stockbroking and finance houses, and in parts of the Civil Service. Personal introductions and satisfactory family antecedents must sometimes be forthcoming, and a first-class bill of health for those going abroad. Moreover, social accomplishments of a select kind are desirable and may be the pass-key to the highest bureaucratic circles both in business and government.

§ 3 LENGTH AND METHODS OF TRAINING

These preliminary tests, more or less selective and exclusive, being passed, a candidate has to face a period of training which will last anything up to seven or eight years and prove correspondingly expensive. The exact process varies rather widely from occupation to occupation, and apart from such categories as local government officers, who come to the city hall qualified in advance by external professional bodies such as the Law Society or the Institute of Chartered Accountants, some detailed comment is called for.

The significance of three or four years at a university has already been mentioned for various types of professional men. Many of these find a university degree quite indispensable. For men like actuaries or surveyors, on the other hand, those years may be added to later professional training as something of a luxury. In between these opposites lies a considerable group for whom university years can figure as more or less of a substitute for part of their professional training. Graduation exempts medical candidates, for example, from scientific study that would otherwise have to be made before hospitalization. Elsewhere, young people who would otherwise have to serve for certain years under articles or as apprentices, obtain some release if they have read for degrees. In this way a solicitor's

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articles may be curtailed by two years, an engineer's apprenticeship by two, three, or four. To this extent, therefore, the length and cost of professional training may be somewhat relieved so long as a prior career at the university has been completed.

Of the medical group, the shortest path lies before nurses, who are able to achieve the general Register in three or four years (but need another 18 to 36 months in order to attain special qualifications). Dentists and pharmacists require upwards of four years, veterinary surgeons five, general medical practitioners between six and eight. All may offer university degrees or diplomas as part of their training; if they do not, all except the nurses must attend a school approved by the professional body, such as the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. Pharmacists must in addition take out articles of pupilage, nurses must study in hospitals and later, for special qualifications, in a variety of institutions such as polytechnic schools. Full medical status in every branch depends upon the passing of examinations held by the profession itself, or upon the completion of approved training.

Ordeal by examination also confers the right to profess the art of teaching. The great majority need only a university degree and a further year for a diploma in education; alternatively, two years at a training college. For members of the chartered society to teach massage, on the other hand, or medical gymnastics or electro- and hydro-therapy, only a year is spent in special training. Again, to profess physical training or Froebel methods involves three years at a college; to teach art or music requires three to five years in an appropriate institution. Those intending to teach domestic science in elementary schools undertake a two or three years' course in a training college, and those preparing it for secondary schools usually a three years' course. Alternatively, they may take a degree for which three years are needed at King's College of Household and Social Science, University of London; or at Bristol University, to which four years must be devoted.

LENGTH AND METHODS OF TRAINING

Like teaching, the general title of social work hides a number of various branches. In that of probation officers, training may still be quite informal under the auspices of a religious or temperance body, and may last for an indefinite time. In contrast, a full university degree-course may be taken at King's College of Household and Social Science. Most often the aspirant to social work comes to a university either with a prior degree in history or the social sciences, or else with some non-university experience and qualification, and reads during a year or so for a diploma. Thus, those who have entered the Home Office scheme for probation officers¹ read for a year if already possessors of a degree, for two years if not. A certificate in mental health may be obtained from the London School of Economics and Political Science after a year's work. Graduate candidates for the post of hospital almoner spend 15 months, those without degrees two academic years, in the social science department of a university.

A different line of approach is necessary to another group of professions, which may for this very reason be gathered into a single category. Architects, engineers, solicitors, accountants, surveyors and those aspiring to the merchant navy normally have to expect a period of pupillage, apprenticeship, or articling before attaining full practice. At least five years must be spent in climbing the ascent to the first four of these, and engineers sometimes take seven. Pupillage under a chartered surveyor, so long as the candidate passes his intermediate and final examinations for the Institution, may be briefer. On the other hand, after two or three years in the Nautical Training College or on a training vessel, a youth must serve at sea usually for four years as apprentice (occasionally three only) before he can obtain his second mate's certificate.² Thereafter, 18 months must be

¹ In contrast to the probation trainees mentioned above in this paragraph, who are now becoming relatively fewer.

² On the other hand, seamen who have served four years before the mast often take the certificate without attendance at full-time work. They work at navigation in their spare time and take a short course in a technical school or crammer's.

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spent at sea before sitting for the first mate's certificate—prior to the examination a period of full-time study is normally inserted. The same process must be repeated before a candidate can present himself for the master's ticket. The period of pupillage may be omitted entirely on the part of architects, cut down by one or two years on the part of solicitors, if they have read for suitable university degrees or attended on the one hand an architectural school, or on the other hand lecture courses arranged by a school under the Law Society. For the latter there may in certain circumstances be substituted correspondence courses. In addition to apprenticeship, a technical college, or a university degree, engineers normally require at least three years' practical experience in a special branch of engineering.

Finally, professional status is acquired in the sphere of business by taking examinations, set by one of the many insurance, banking, or secretarial institutes. These, however, either by correspondence, attending lectures after office hours, or wholly independent work, may be prepared for in the student's spare time. Three to six years have to be devoted to this type of training. So for the Bar examinations, although certain 'terms' must technically be kept at Inns of Court. In contrast to university students, however, would-be barristers are little troubled by the demands made upon them by their terms, which consist of the eating of a few dinners arranged at convenient times.

§4 COSTS OF TRAINING, AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Cost of training of any kind is a two-dimensional affair. Sums of money have to be multiplied by the months or years over which they are to be expended. It is in this context, then, that the long periods, necessary for study and instruction before

TRAINING AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

young people can assume the cloak of most professions, ought to be read. During those years not by any means all students are in a position to live under their parents' roof. They may have to resign themselves throughout the year to landladies, paying about £120 for board and lodging.¹ Or they may only have to pitch their tent in these pastures for the length of college terms; but even then their parents have to clothe them and provide pocket money for every season, and during vacations find them board and lodging somewhere. A minority alone relieve the parental pocket by working remuneratively during vacations or throughout the year while they study in spare time. Such 'maintenance costs'² must be borne in mind in examining direct expenses of training and of qualifying in the various spheres that have been selected. They must be assumed to be present unless it is specifically mentioned that the cost of residence in hostels or colleges has replaced them. It is unfortunate that, apart only from university students,³ no statistics are to hand whereby the relative proportions of those who can complete their training at home, or partly at home, of those who can live in hostels, and of those who are destined for lodgings, can be estimated. For such calculations as these find their place in a parent's anxious arithmetic.

A. *The Medical Group*

In the Tables on pp. 292 and 302 certain direct costs of training, where they are available, have been assembled. They apply to the total period, stretching over however many years, necessary for a full instruction and qualification. To these costs, however, must of course be added those of 'maintenance' and of books and instruments.⁴ Doctors may run their course under

¹ A generally accepted average figure. In some places economical students may find cheaper accommodation.

² i.e. for board, lodging, clothes, pocket money, etc., throughout the year.

³ See Table U.

⁴ For doctors and dentists such estimates may be taken from the memoranda mentioned in the footnotes on p. 15.

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COST OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

<i>Professional Category</i>	<i>Cost of Training*</i>
DOCTORS†	£
Average of 19 universities or colleges	262
„ „ 2 licensing corporations	170
„ „ 13 medical schools	279
DENTISTS‡	
Average of 15 institutions: B.D.S.	319
„ „ „ „ L.D.S.	272
VETERINARY SURGEONS	
B.V.Sc. Liverpool University	223
B.V.Sc. Edinburgh University	237
Veterinary schools	Much as university
PHARMACISTS§	
B.Pharm. Average of 2 English universities	143
B.Pharm. University of Wales	109
Technical schools	45-60
NURSES	
General	0-21

* There are included full costs of taking a degree, or of qualifying by study and passing examinations, at a university or other institution. For pharmacists, however, books, instruments, maintenance, residence and pupilage are not included.

† The universities and colleges included here are precisely those averaged for the British Isles in chap. iv, p. 238. Oxford and Cambridge are therefore not included. The information for licensed corporations and medical schools is derived from a memorandum issued by the General Medical Council in June, 1936.

‡ In addition to the universities and colleges included in the British Isles' figure given in chap. iv, p. 238, certain dental hospital schools are included here. The information is derived from a memorandum issued by the Dental Board of the United Kingdom in July, 1937.

§ The cost of the Chemists and Druggists, or the Pharmaceutical Chemists, Qualifying Examination is included here.

the tutelage of universities, licensing corporations such as the Royal College of Physicians, or medical schools attached to hospitals; but in each instance it must be understood that the months during which every doctor must walk the hospital ward

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are included, since they have been arranged by the body mentioned. The grand total naturally varies very widely if the typical studentship of young doctors, running each of the three courses under different roofs, is examined. To measure at least the possible extremes, the relatively expensive career of a young man passing through Worcester College, Oxford,¹ and Guy's Hospital, London (where he may be supposed to pay bills to a landlady throughout the year), would in all amount to some £1245. A comparable calculation at the other end of the scale — allowing the same annual charge of £120 for lodgings during the period of hospitalization, when a student cannot usually continue residing in college — shows the expense of creating a doctor at Durham University to be £767.

Dentists' costs may be similarly analysed. They may qualify, as shown in the table on p. 292, by taking a B.D.S. or L.D.S. in one of 15 institutions — universities or schools. The extremes of total expense, including books and instruments and on the assumption that the student lives throughout his five or five and a half years' university training in a university hostel during term time and at home during vacations, may be illustrated by the Universities of Leeds and the National University of Ireland. The former can produce a male dentist for £744, a female one for £717; the latter a male for £523, a female for £463. Should they reside in lodgings during term time, no great change in total expense could be expected on the rates adopted above;² but if for the whole year, some £150 must be added.

Two universities offer degrees in veterinary science. To graduate at Liverpool after living during term in lodgings, would cost on the average a total of £623; to do the same at Edinburgh would amount to £637. The attainment of qualifications by attending veterinary schools, if the five guineas

¹ Oxford and Cambridge are not included in the foregoing table for the same reason as they were not included in general Tables given in the last chapter. Nevertheless, it is possible to take an isolated college from one of these universities.

² *vide supra*, p. 291, footnote 1.

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needed for becoming a member of the Royal College be included, involves charges very little lower.

A similar uniformity, however, does not hold for pharmacists. They may study for a B.Pharm. in the Universities of London, Nottingham, Manchester, Wales and Glasgow. The last is very little dearer than Wales, and a bird's-eye view of the aggregate costs of such university courses, together with residence in hostels, may best be taken if an average for the English universities is compared with Wales. In the former, a man may graduate for £362, a woman for £329; in the latter, a man for £225, a woman for £266. Before however proceeding to a university, if a candidate has not already been exempted by having taken suitable subjects in some examination like the higher school certificate, he must sit a preliminary scientific examination whose fee ranges from two to six guineas. Later, when the university lies behind, the Chemists and Druggists, or the Pharmaceutical Chemists, Qualifying Examination must be sat for, costing twelve guineas. Not all pharmacists, naturally enough, attend universities; they may substitute a technical institution for a year upwards, whose annual charges come at least to £10. Finally, every would-be pharmacist must undertake at least 4000 hours of pupilage for which premiums generally have to be paid by parents up to £100. On the whole, if it is assumed that except during university terms a candidate may live at home, it would appear that an intelligent youth might reach the pharmaceutical goal for as little as £70. The expensive route would involve as much as £475.

The above estimates for various branches of medicine, which are as close as can be reached, display a certain variety, but in the main they underline the heaviness of professional expenses. These may be offset in the familiar way of scholarship winning. Prizes, in addition, are remarkably liberal for medical students who show promise in examination. They are found in particular profusion in doctors' and dentists' schools, worth from £10 to £40 in the former, £2 to £10 in the latter. Less numerous

TRAINING AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

in the veterinary schools, they range from £5 to £57. The pharmacists, still less fortunate, can only win book prizes. As for scholarships, medical schools have a fair number to offer.¹ Dental students in universities may win scholarships worth from £50 to £100 a year, in hospital schools from £40 downwards, and Dental Board bursaries worth £30 annually are granted, especially to the sons of dentists, with some liberality. Veterinary candidates may, under suitable circumstances, draw on the colleges, local authorities, and the Carnegie Trust for scholarships tenable for five years and of a maximum annual value of £150. One or two institutions offer bursaries of various value to pharmaceutical students, and others exist for those apprenticed in Lancashire, Cheshire, Devon and Cornwall. To these benefits, which are in the main offered indiscriminately, should be added two for special groups: those intending to enter H.M. Forces as doctors and who already belong to the Forces or derive from fathers serving there, have the possibility of securing a few closed scholarships worth £200 a year; while the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries offers some extremely generous grants covering both direct and 'maintenance' costs of training to rural workers, or their children, who are intending to qualify as veterinary surgeons.

Nursing, the last great branch of the medical profession, presents a remarkable contrast to the others in point of cost. Preparation cannot in general begin, it is true, before a girl has reached the age of 18, until when her parents may have to support her. But on the other hand, many nurses — probably the great majority — have found work in other spheres after leaving school and before entering a hospital, and have thus relieved their parents of a burden. Once accepted for training, they attend a preliminary 'school' either gratis or for a small payment varying from £3 to £16. That done, they begin work in the wards, normally to attain general qualifications in three years. During this period, in striking contrast to other types of

¹ See below, p. 319.

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medical trainee, they are not only given free board and their uniforms (the latter not in the first year at some hospitals) but they are paid an annual salary for pocket money varying between £18 and £30 for the first year, £22 and £35 for the second, £35 and £50 for the third. Out of this salary they have to buy books and other necessities for study, and pay the fees for the examinations set by the General Nursing Council, of which the preliminary costs two guineas to sit, the finals three.¹ Some hospitals, however, refund the examination fee to candidates who are successful. So much, then, as to qualifying for the general part of the Register. The achievement of special accomplishments² normally involves attendance at full-time courses during which period, unless she can win a scholarship, a nurse must maintain herself. The Ministry of Health makes grants-in-aid of such training under suitable conditions. Again, certain nursing associations offer scholarships, while hospitals will help their senior nurses especially if they intend to take the Central Midwives Board Certificate. The charge for a full course in such subjects as industrial nursing, radiography, massage, medical gymnastics, and health-visiting ranges from £20 to £70. The course for sanitary inspection costs from £1 5s. od. to 6 guineas, and there is a part-time, evening course leading up to the sister tutor's certificate at the Battersea Polytechnic costing 3 guineas. As for examination fees, tests conducted under the Royal Medico-Psychological Association amount to 17s. 6d. Radiographers have to pay either 2 guineas or £2 10s. od. to sit their papers. Examination fees for the other qualifications enumerated above are distinctly expensive — from 4 to 8 guineas each. On the whole, however, not only the general, but also the specially accomplished, nurse may become a fully recognized professional worker at relatively small cost to herself or her parents.

TRAINING AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

B. *Teachers*

Although precisely the same sweeping assertion cannot be made about school teachers, it is undoubtedly true for the great majority to-day that their years of professional training are very largely financed from public funds in such wise as to relieve families of much expense. In this respect teachers must be classed with nurses and clergymen as exceptions to the general rule: they prove a relatively small charge, during years of professional training, upon their parents. As soon as boys are accepted by a denomination as worthy recruits for a church, instruction under its aegis or in approved theological schools can normally be financed from ecclesiastical funds, parents contributing according to their means but not feeling the same pressure upon the family purse as, for example, the parents of doctors or dentists. So for the great majority of intending teachers whose careers in college or university may be financed by public authorities. That three populous professions like teaching,¹ nursing and the church should so materially relieve the budgets of their candidates' families, must be reckoned an important modification of the situation found generally in the professional world.

It happens for a minority of teachers that as undergraduates in the university they had hoped for later employment in some other sphere, but finally had to change their minds. On making this change, and entering a university training department for teachers, they may be able to secure a grant either from the Board of Education or from the appropriate L.E.A. (i.e. that in whose territory their home is situated), or else, as an alternative or as an addition, a loan may be forthcoming. Loans in place of grants are favoured by certain L.E.A.s, and practice varies widely from area to area. An average loan of about £30 is a common figure, the granting of which may be conditional

¹ According to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board, as reported in *The Times Educational Supplement* of Saturday, February 18th, 1939, about 7000 trained teachers emerge every year from training colleges and university training departments put together.

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upon insurance cover and perhaps also interest payments.¹ The making of loans and grants often depends on whether or not an undergraduate holds scholarships or grants from other sources; but, on the whole, applicants' need generally plays some part in such calculations.

Another minority group can also be found among teachers; a group which intended from the first to follow that profession, but whose qualifications failed to secure their acceptance, by the Board of Education, as 'recognized' candidates for the privilege of being trained as teachers.² If they do not already hold outside scholarships, these students may likewise have recourse to the agencies of their local education committees, this time for aid to last throughout their undergraduate and training career. To the appeals of these, however, the city, or county, offices may turn a deaf ear, or, if not, help may be forthcoming for three years only. Perhaps one of the most inscrutable enigmas which a struggling parent has to face when planning for a child's future, is the support he can rely upon from the local organs of our democracy.³

The great mass of the army of prospective teachers, however, has had its path through university or college eased by the Board of Education.⁴ Those intended for a State elementary school⁵ normally spend two years in a training college, the charges of which are borne for the individual by Whitehall in such a way that the day student is left with £10 to £20 a year to find according to the expensiveness of the establishment, the

¹ *vide supra*, chap. iv, p. 259.

² Of recent years, the Board has limited the numbers entering university training departments and training colleges. This new policy was in response to a noticeably growing unemployment among teachers.

³ L.E.A.s will afford help up to income maxima varying according to the generosity of each authority. Some refuse all help to families already obtaining assistance from the Board of Education; others make aid conditional upon such assistance.

⁴ 96% of those in training during 1937-38 (*Education in 1938*, CMD 6013, p. 192).

⁵ Together with women training for nursery teaching. Some teachers in central and senior schools also have this training, some that for secondary schools.

TRAINING AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

boarder with £40 to £50.¹ With these minimum payments still to face, the student may turn to the L.E.A. for additional grant or loan, and the day student may ask for further relief from the cost of maintenance at home.²

Those, on the other hand, who hope to teach in secondary establishments,³ must take a university degree in their subject, and then spend a fourth year in the university training department. For the first three years the Board grants relief from direct college and residence charges to 'recognized' students (or for day students, the cost of maintenance at home), according to fixed scales.⁴ These scales, like those applied to Special Places in schools,⁵ take account both of the number of children dependent on parents and upon the latter's income. A student's own resources from various scholarships (but not loans) must also be added on to parental income. A scale follows which is applicable to men students who will be resident away from home. (See p. 300.)

Even for an only child assistance amounting to all by £30 of the fees can be relied upon for incomes up to £700. At lower levels of income, or with larger families, the assistance is correspondingly more generous. The grants for men as day students, and for women, whether resident or not, amount to rather less; the maximum money grant reaching £26 for the first of these groups, £34 for the second, and £20 for the third. The income

¹ The proportions of day and hostel-resident students for 1937-38 may be learned from p. 193, *Education in 1938*, *op. cit.*:

	<i>Students resident in college or hostel</i>	<i>Day Students</i>	<i>Day Stu- dents as % of total</i>
In training depts. of universities (including some in lodgings in Oxford and Cambridge)	2,469	2,311	48.3
In two-year training colleges	8,304	824	9.0

² See p. 96 of Whiteley, *The Poor Student and the University* (1933), *op. cit.*, for details of grants and loans made by certain L.E.A.s.

³ Not all such hopes are realized. Some only find posts in elementary schools.

⁴ Female students at Cambridge are not eligible for such grants, since there is no training department for women at Cambridge recognized by the university.

⁵ See chap. ii.

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<i>Annual income not exceeding</i>	<i>Amount of grant where number of dependent children is</i>			
£	1	2	3	4 or more
400	F + £43	F + £43	F + £43	F + £43
450	F + £35	F + £43	F + £43	F + £43
500	F + £25	F + £35	F + £43	F + £43
550	F + £15	F + £25	F + £35	F + £43
600	F	F + £15	F + £25	F + £35
650	F - £15	F	F + £15	F + £25
700	F - £30	F - £15	F	F + £15
750	—	F - £30	F - £15	F
800	—	—	F - £30	F - £20

F stands for tuition fees. This scale is applied by the Board of Education.

beyond which no assistance may be claimed for an only child falls to £650 when a man is a day student, whereas for resident women it assumes that same level, but £600 only for day students among women.

For the fourth year the Board relieves the payment of fees up to £35 per head, a sum which meets the full charge in an inexpensive department like that of Bristol University, but leaves something to be found by parents where the department is more costly, e.g. in the University of London where, in the absence of a grant, the charges for the year of training amount to £54 17s. od.¹ Towards hostel residence or home maintenance the Board gives assistance on a flat rate, so long as need can be established — for a 'recognized hostel' £43 for men, £34 for women; for those residing elsewhere £26 for men, £20 for women. Probably, therefore, in each of a trainee's four years, aid from the Board for 'recognized' students, while substantial, leaves something of a burden for parents. (Non-recognized students, naturally, can make no claim on the Board.) Should this

¹ The average of such charges for 13 English universities, excluding Oxford and Cambridge, is £43.

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financial drain seem inequitable or unduly heavy, the family may turn once more to the L.E.A., which may under certain circumstances supplement assistance from Whitehall.¹

Training in special educational subjects naturally varies with the multiplicity of institutions which give it, but in the main represents substantial outlay. A course in physical training costs, in direct fees and residence charges, upwards of £450. Some L.E.A.s give grants towards defraying this sum, reducing the cost for the individual in Carnegie College, for instance, to £50 a year. Training in Froebel methods amounts, for tuition and residence, to between £300 and £510, although the Board of Education will defray £60 of the expenses in both second and third years for students in recognized institutions. The cheapest courses in domestic science may be had in training colleges. A student aiming to give instruction in elementary schools may complete the course on a minimum of £200 including residence, but possibly the majority, together with those aiming at secondary teaching, spend a minimum of £300. The Board of Education offers grants for such training, subject to certain conditions, and some L.E.A.s and the colleges themselves may give scholarships.² Apart from residence charges, students can qualify to teach music for a minimum of £132, for a normal maximum of £220. Relatively wealthy institutions like the Royal College and the Royal Academy offer scholarships to cover fees — the Royal College about 20 open scholarships a year. Finally, preparation for teaching art represents the least expensive outlay — costing, without residence, about £45 in the more modest schools, £75 in the more ambitious. Scholarships and maintenance grants may sometimes be had from L.E.A.s in this field.

¹ *vide supra*, p. 298, footnote 3. See p. 103 of WHITELEY, *op. cit.*, for some grants and loans of certain L.E.A.s.

² Tuition fees alone, without residence, cost £90 to £198 for a course in Froebel methods, £135 to £240 for physical training, and in domestic science £60 upwards for those preparing to teach in elementary schools or £90 upwards for those aiming at secondary schools.

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COST OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING*

<i>Professional Category</i>	<i>Cost of Training</i>
SOCIAL WORK	
University 2 year course	£28 to £54
University 1 year course (mental health)	£30
Institute of Hospital Almoners	£21
Y.W.C.A. (including residence)	£110
Course for club leadership, and course under Mental Welfare Offices	£1 10s. od. to £6 5s. od.
ARCHITECTS	
B. Arch. at 4 English provincial universities, average	£181
B. Arch. University College, London	£259
Schools of architecture	£105 to £315
ENGINEERS	
Average of pass degrees at certain centres:	
1 Universities of Southampton, Nottingham, and Queen Mary's College, London	£108
2 Universities of Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield	£155
3 University of Birmingham, and King's and University College, London	£199
National Diploma at technical colleges	£45 to £180
MERCANTILE MARINE	
Average of courses taken in	
1 Nautical College	£404†
2 Training Ships	£275†
3 Technical Schools	£15 to £40†

* Full costs are included of taking a degree or qualifying by study, and passing examinations at a university or other institution. Books, instruments, maintenance, residence and pupilage are not, however, included.

† Including cost of examination for Second Mate's Ticket.

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C. *Social Work*

The aggregate expense involved in completing the training for social work is exceedingly difficult to estimate because, as already indicated, the background of candidates before they come to take formal courses is so varied. Many have been in remunerative occupation for some 10 years since leaving school; others have had to submit to the outlay involved in a normal university career. It will only be possible here, therefore, to set forth some of the more important costs of formal training, irrespective of what has gone before. A two years' course in a university social science department, for example, requires from £28 to £54, a one year's course in mental health £30. The two years' course held by the Institute of Almoners amounts to £21, and training for club leadership or instruction under the Mental Welfare Offices from 30s. to £6 5s. od. None of these sums includes residence or maintenance expenses. On the other hand, £110 cover the full fees and maintenance requirements for the training offered by the Y.W.C.A. No doubt many of the above trainees find it necessary to reside in Settlements during their novitiate, thus to pay 30s. to 35s. a week for board and lodging. A few bursaries may be had from certain Settlements.

D. *Architects*

Architects, too, may pass along several paths during their tyro years, but their progress is somewhat more regular and more easily charted. The cost of acquiring a degree divides English universities readily into two groups — the inexpensive one consisting of the Universities of Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Sheffield (Glasgow is even less expensive, especially in point of residence charges), University College, London, constituting the more expensive. To take an average, then, of the first group and compare it with London, it is possible to arrive at a cheaper cost, including residence, for graduating in architecture of £549 for men, £513 for women, and a dearer

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one of £623 for each sex. On the other hand, candidates may side-track the universities by taking complete courses at architecture schools, which cost from £105 to £315. This figure assumes that the student lives at home, and does not therefore include the sums devoted to his board and lodging by parents. Should he dwell under the roof of a landlady during school terms, i.e. about two-thirds of the year, the aggregate cost of his training will amount to about the same as the cost of graduating in one of the inexpensive universities. In the third place, training by means of pupilage in an architect's office has usually involved in the past paying premiums up to £500, part of which, however, may be refunded in the form of a salary. There are indications that this figure is tending to be reduced. Where the student is not exempted by his college or university examinations, he will have to sit that of the Royal Institute of British Architects and pay 11 guineas. To become an Associate of the Institute will cost him another four. Offsetting these heavy expenses are a very large number of scholarships and prizes offered by the schools and the Institute, some even including maintenance up to £100 a year, often however confined to candidates from certain areas.

E. *Engineers*

Engineers follow paths similar to architects. If they proceed by way of the universities, the range of total costs incurred, including residence, may be indicated by comparing what is needed on an average to graduate at Cambridge with a Mechanical Science Tripos — £700 — with the similar figure for a B.Sc. Engineering at Queen Mary College, London — £217.¹ As usual, the Scottish universities are even less expensive than Lon-

¹ Again, we are considering here only 'direct' university or college costs, and college residence. *vide supra*, p. 292. See the Table on p. 302 for the average 'direct' costs — fees, subscriptions, tuition, etc. — of engineering pass. degrees at three groups of English universities — a relatively expensive, a moderate, and relatively cheap group. Oxford and Cambridge because of their special position are excluded. To take an honours degree involves slightly higher expenses at some universities.

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don. On the other hand, it is possible to attain a National Diploma by attending for three years full-time courses in technical colleges.¹ These require from £15 to £60 a year, so that the maximum figure of £420, the minimum of £285, can be arrived at to cover a complete course including living in lodgings for two-thirds of the year — totals comparable to those just given for the universities. Finally, there is the method of training by apprenticeship where, however, it is becoming rarer each year to encounter the paying of premiums. Much more often the employer pays the learner a nominal wage, a situation which is frequently not much improved when the university or college graduate comes to serve his three or more years' practical training. During these periods, expenses face the parent in the form of instruments, books, and general living necessities. To mitigate all such expenses the fortunate candidate may help himself to a liberal supply of prizes and win one of a fair number of scholarships granted by almost every form of institution. In addition, the Board of Education annually holds examinations as a result of which it awards 15 Royal Scholarships tenable at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, and 10 Free Studentships covering fees and maintenance allowance according to students' means and of a maximum value of £80 a year, which together see the holder through a complete engineering course in an approved institution. While these paths of training are no doubt qualitatively important, nevertheless they are followed by what must be in bulk only a minority of engineering students. The larger proportion is composed of part-time workers who, if they aim at the National Certificate, pay from 12s. 6d. to 15s. for instruction in a nine months' session during the day, about 10s. 6d. during the evening. If they look further and aspire to an engineering degree, costs for this form of instruction vary from £4 to £6 a session. It is improbable that holders of the National Certificate would generally be recognized as professional workers. But it

¹ See chap. ii, p. 116, for National Diplomas in senior technical schools.

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would appear that steady workers might acquire a full degree by means of evening work only, for an outlay ranging from some £25 to £42, a great contrast to the costs of full-time training. For men of this type the Board of Education grants Whitworth Scholarships worth from £150 to £250 a year according to need, in order that they may shorten their training by working for about three years' full time in an institution.

F. *Mercantile Marine*

In the same breath as part time study for engineering should be mentioned the great majority of seamen who do the work for their second mate's, first mate's and master's tickets while serving their years of apprenticeship at sea. Before taking each of the examinations set by the Board of Trade for the tickets they may miss a voyage and spend some months in a public technical institution like the King Edward VII Nautical College in London, paying fees for instruction varying from about 2 to 5 guineas, or go to a private crammer who will in all likelihood charge them more. The examinations themselves cost £4 only. Between each examination, they return to sea for at least 18 months. By hard work these men can in this way set their feet on the professional ladder for a small sum. Certain shipping lines, however, insist on their officers having undertaken a period of cadetship in the Nautical College or aboard a training ship, in addition to the years spent in gaining practical knowledge of seamanship. The first charges fees of £160 a year, while among training ships the *Mercury's* annual fees come to £65, the *Conway's* £120, and the *Worcester's* £140. At least two or three years have to be put in at these institutions. The sole aid in mitigation of these charges seems to be the possibility of obtaining grants from L.E.A.s towards attending the *Mercury*.

G. *Law*

Of all the professions which do not necessarily involve the ornament of a university degree, the law probably still embraces

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among its practitioners a larger proportion of men who have regarded degrees as a desirable prelude to their working life, than can be discovered in any other comparable walk of life. While this fact has become less true of solicitors, even to-day almost every member of an Inn of Court who is called to the Bar has first proceeded to a general arts degree or an LL.B. The expenses incurred for general degrees were examined in the last chapter; for law degrees proper they vary from maxima at the older universities — £600 on an average at Cambridge, £480 at Oxford — to minima in England at Leeds — £260 for men, £243 for women — and at Wales £191 for men, £232 for women, while an average for the Scottish universities amounts to £227 for men, £234 for women. These total expenses of a degree include, of course, hostel or college costs of residence during term time. They do not, however, represent a net addition to the young lawyer's fees: for they enable a man to qualify without having attended and paid for lectures arranged either by the Law Society or the Council of Legal Education, and in addition the period during which the young solicitor is articulated may be abbreviated by one or two years if he is a graduate. In this way solicitors may be saved lecture fees varying from two to 25 guineas and averaging 20, and possibly something in articling premiums; the barrister may escape 12 guineas and possibly the cost of extra coaching for examinations.

Whether adorned with a university badge or not, the intending solicitor in England must be articulated — across the border he may be apprenticed to a Scottish firm at a nominal wage — and meet an average cost of £200—£300, and with an exceptionally distinguished firm, one of £500. Stamp duties, also, and registration fee of £81 have to be paid at this date. To qualify, he sits examinations whose entrance fees add up to £20 10s. od. and to practise he must be admitted to the Law Society, for which a fee of £5 and stamp duties of £25 have to be found. In all, if maintenance and university expenses are left on one side, the creation of a solicitor in England and Wales would seem to

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require an average of about £400, rising not infrequently to £650 and perhaps falling sometimes to £300. There seems to be no regular form of relief from these sums, except that the Law Society offers every year three scholarships worth £40 and tenable for three years.¹

A barrister's training is rather different from his brother, the solicitor's. In addition to his university degree, he has to pass the Bar examinations. To this end, he may need special lectures and coaching; certainly he must join an Inn of Court, thus having to pay admission and dinner charges, and terminal fees. The examinations cost him $4\frac{1}{2}$ guineas, and on being called to the Bar he must meet fees exceeding £100; at this stage he is technically qualified to be briefed, but he must in practice specialize with further study in some branch of litigation. For this purpose he enters chambers for at least a year, there to work with an experienced man at an average annual cost of £105. Up to this point, if university costs are excluded, the expenses for attaining to legal practice after a year in chambers amount in the least expensive Inn to about £284,² and in the Inner or Middle Temple to £310. These aggregates do not include residence or maintenance expenses, and in very few instances can barristers hope to support themselves after merely a year in chambers. Normally they have to wait for three or four more years before sufficient briefs come their way to render them independent of the parental pocket. A minimum grand total for the production of a barrister might be arrived at roughly by adding university charges for three years (fees and residence) to the above legal expenses, supplemented by cost of residence in lodgings during the year spent in chambers. By this means two outside figures may be computed — the higher one for a

¹ While the Education Estimates for the London County Council were under discussion in the early months of 1938, amendments were put forward for making grants to promising secondary school students to proceed to training in law, accountancy, and surveying. The amendments were lost, but further debate on the subject is promised.

² Lincoln's Inn. Gray's Inn requires the addition of £6 in terminal fees.

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lawyer who has passed through Oxford and the Middle Temple, the lower for a man who has arrived by way of Leeds and Lincoln's Inn — namely, £950 or more, and £664. It is likely that the higher figure is on the low side, and would certainly rise well above £1000 for a Cantab. As for relief, there is little by way of scholarships to help barristers. There exist about 12 scholarships, limited to Oxford and Cambridge men, capable of financing their career up to the time when they are called, and sometimes beyond that. For others in the early stages of the barrister's career, there are only an average of about two or three at each Inn. Later, to cover the expenses of three years — occasionally for only one — in chambers, an average of about three scholarships is available for each Inn, together with funds amounting to about £1000 to be donated in the form of grants to needy inmates of chambers. More important, perhaps, for the brilliant student are the prizes of £50 offered by all Inns to each man who obtains honours in the final Bar Examination, together with the possibility of similar gifts from the Council of Legal Education. The latter may also award scholarships, worth 100 guineas a year and tenable for three years, to those who have distinguished themselves in finals.

H. *Business*

It would be a hard task to define precisely what grades and types of workers in business may justly claim a professional status. In an old profession like the law no such difficulty seems to arise — the clerk or inferior is distinguished by a clear-cut convention from the man of full professional standing. In business, functional divisions can be discovered, but convention has not yet drawn a line clearly, if arbitrarily, labelling which is professional. The task of the present pages, therefore, will be the modest one of estimating how much it costs to attain qualifications which might be helpful in rising to a superior position in the business world, with a full recognition that the majority of those so qualified in no way succeed thus to elevate them-

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selves. Family influence and personal connections are the usual levers to business prominence to-day, or the direct weight of inherited wealth.

A university degree would appear to be an increasingly useful appendage for the ambitious business man: not necessarily because the subjects he has studied as an undergraduate will be of immediate utility in business life, but because, in competition with those less fortunate, he possesses a further title to general social, perhaps intellectual, respect. On the other hand, there remains considerable prejudice in the breasts of many business men, mainly of the manufacturing type, against university graduates, who may come into the office with ideas and ideals rather different from those inherited from an age of iron and smoke, and therefore be inclined to offer uncomfortable criticisms. It might be expected, on the face of it, that new ideas would be precisely the contribution expected in the world of business from the universities. In general, however, the age of 18 is thought quite late enough for entry into a firm by candidates for higher posts in business. In this way, they may best be thoroughly inured with its routine. The common feeling is that if university degrees are in fact taken, they should confine themselves to 'practical' studies, i.e. an account of how business works to-day, rather than a criticism of it from the angle of general social theory. In these circumstances it is doubtful how far, in contrast to a profession like the law, even the possession of degrees which do include institutional economic studies, such as a B.Comm. or B.Sc.Econ., is helpful towards rising in business. As a rule, it is helpful only in certain great, almost public, concerns like Imperial Chemicals, and in the world of finance. Mathematical degrees, and those covering in a general way social sciences and theory, such as 'Modern Greats' at Oxford, are, nevertheless, often read by young men destined for the business world; their expenses were dealt with in the preceding chapter. Perhaps the most celebrated centre for the acquisition of a B.Comm. or B.Sc.Econ. is the London

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School of Economics and Political Science, where total expenses, including lodgings for two-thirds of the year at the standard rate of £120 per annum, amount for each of these degrees to £524. Elsewhere, these degrees can be acquired much more cheaply; for an average of the other nine English universities offering B.Comm. degrees comes only to £322 for men, £308 for women, if they live in hostels during term, while a similar average for those offering B.Sc.Econ. degrees amounts to £309 for men and £300 for women.

Whether graduate or not, ambitious men, certainly in financial branches of contemporary business, must think of passing the examinations set by professional associations in their field. Various bodies of accountants hold examinations, for which fees for the intermediate vary from one to $2\frac{1}{2}$ guineas, for the finals from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3. Normally an accountant has to be articled,¹ for which privilege he must pay between £100 and £300. Prizes may be had for distinction in the examinations ranging from £5 to £50, one or two of which comprise annual payments up to the termination of articles. Training for shipbroking also necessitates apprenticeship, but the four or five years that have to be spent thus rarely to-day require the old premium of £100 to £150 which used to be returned to the student in the form of a salary. For the rest, training in the business professions takes the form of correspondence courses² or attendance at technical or commercial schools. In preparation for the examinations of the Chartered Insurance Institute, evening courses cost between 7s. 6d. and 30s. od. a year, being sometimes remitted in reward for good attendance and hard work the year before. The examinations cost 10s. od. for the preliminary, 15s. od. for the associateship, £2 for the fellowship. The Institute itself also arranges courses of instruction, costing 12s. 6d. for one subject, 10s. od. each if three are taken. Two other bodies offer quali-

¹ Not however for the Institute of Costs and Works Accountants, for whose examination work is usually undertaken part time.

² *vide supra*, chap. ii, p. 133.

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fications in the insurance world — the Institute of Actuaries whose examinations cost 17 guineas in fees, and the Corporation of Insurance Brokers who only require for the same purpose upwards of 3 guineas. About thirty prizes covering the above costs are offered by the Chartered Institute each year. As for banking, some youths, on leaving school at the age of 16, attend full-time courses at commercial colleges in order to be trained in financial principles. Such instruction costs from 5 to 7 guineas a term, sometimes with a 10% reduction if attendance for a whole year is guaranteed, and is relieved only by a few small prizes allocated on examination results by the colleges themselves. The examination leading to the associateship of the Institute of Bankers, however, may be approached by a less costly route, by attending special courses held in most of the larger cities and costing 25s. od. a term (with a 25% reduction on a year's attendance) designed specifically for the examination. This itself involves a fee of £1, the diploma for executor and trustee work a fee of 10s. od. Most of the banks and the Institute itself are prepared to help students on their staffs by paying some of the fees and giving prizes for examination distinction. In certain branches of local government service one or two additional examinations can be sat — those of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, for example, whose fees amount to 5 guineas; those of the Town Planning Institute with fees of 8 guineas; or the Relieving Officer's Certificate examination held by the Poor Law Examinations Board and costing a guinea. In general, it may be said that students who want a general business training may attend full time at a commercial school for 13 guineas upwards a year, in the evenings for 18s. od. to 30s. od. in London, 7s. 6d. upwards in the provinces. Some remission of fees is granted in needy cases, and Chambers of Commerce offer a few studentships especially for foreign residence, where men up to the age of 25 may gain a knowledge of languages and foreign business practices. In short, for much 'professional' training in business subjects, the cost,

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since it is undertaken in the evening after a day's work, is low. The prospects of attaining true professional status and income afterwards, it has already been mentioned, remain uncertain.

J. *Surveyors, Auctioneers, Land Agents*

The last group selected for investigation here consists of three branches, each of which, however, follows a parallel course and one trodden by many other professions. Surveyors, auctioneers, and land agents all have to serve a period of pupilage costing each a minimum of £100, although the three years of surveying and land agency pupilage may cost as much as £300, and that of auctioneers as much as £500. Their examinations amount respectively to about £12, £9, and 8 guineas. To this end, instruction costs surveyors upwards of 16s. od. a session in a technical school, while the College of Estate Management charges 50 guineas for one term's attendance, 100 for three.¹ Money may be saved for these two classes of student by substituting correspondence courses, whose expenses add up for a four months' term to 6 guineas or more. They occupy from 6 to 8 terms. Land agents may take the same line of training as the above, but many of them also go to the expense of obtaining a B.Sc. in agriculture at a university. Total costs of the latter, including hostel residence for three years, vary from £448 for men, £398 for women, at Bristol, to £354 for men, £321 for women at Reading; and an average for the English universities² amounts to about £361 for men, £339 for women. In order, moreover, to encourage the acquisition of good university degrees among young people intending to enter this group of professions, the Chartered Surveyors Institution offers every year a scholarship worth £100 a year and tenable for three years at Cambridge for the reading of such subjects as law,

¹ A degree in estate management is also offered at Cambridge, requiring an average outlay for that university (see chap. iv).

² Excluding the University of Leeds whose B.Sc. Agr. takes four years, but costs about the same annually as the less expensive universities elsewhere in England. In Scotland charges for this degree are uniformly smaller.

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economics, mathematics, and natural science; and it offers three more, tenable by post-graduates at Cambridge, for research or further degrees, or else to be used for foreign travel and observation, and worth £125. For help towards tuition on the part of those whose paths lie in more modest spheres, the College of Estate Management and the Incorporated Society of Auctioneers and Landed Property Agents grant scholarships as a result of the preliminary and intermediate professional examinations mentioned above.

K. Summary of Expenses

A review of the basic costs of professional training makes it abundantly clear what a complex field is being examined. It should, moreover, be emphasized that in this stage of educational expense, just as in the other stages reviewed in earlier chapters, no attempt has been made to compile a handbook of careers, but merely to determine the magnitude of outlay thrust upon parents. Thus, even within the field selected for inquiry among the professions, every effort has been made to present a general

SUMMARY TABLE OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING EXPENSES

<i>Professional Group</i>	<i>Full-time Training in university or equivalent institution</i>	<i>Living at home</i>	<i>Total Expenditure</i>
Solicitor	"		£1650-930
Doctor	"		£1245-770
Barrister	"		£1100-670
Dentist	"		£856-655
Land and Estate Profession	"		£960-440
Veterinary Surgeon	"		£637-623
Architect	"		£630-520
Social Worker	"		£830-370
Accountant	"		£730-415
Engineer	"		£710-223
General Commerce (B.Comm. degree)	"		£530-315

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	<i>Full-time Training in university or equivalent institution</i>	<i>Living at home</i>	<i>Total Expenditure</i>
Pharmacy	„		£485-333
Land and Estate Profession		„	£610-170
Mercantile Marine	„		£405-275
Solicitor		„	£300
Architect		„	£200
Secondary School Teachers			
(the mass)	„		£130
Social Worker (short course)*	„		£140-115
Pharmacy		„	£80
Actuary		„	£55
Elementary School Teacher			
(the mass)	„		£55-40
Engineer		„	£50-35
Mercantile Marine			£40-15
Nurses			£21-2
Elementary School Teachers			
(a few)†	„	„	£3
Secondary School Teachers			
(a few)	„	„	£0

* i.e. without a prior general university degree.

† On the assumption that the family income is low enough to secure a large additional grant from L.E.A.s. So for the last category of secondary teachers.

The above Table is drawn from information given in the preceding pages, reference to which shows how the totals have been arrived at. Where applicable, these totals cover the following items of expense: full costs of taking a degree or qualifying by study and passing examinations at a university or equivalent institution, e.g. training college or training ship; full maintenance in hostels, colleges, or lodgings during periods of study while attached to these institutions. Books and instruments are included everywhere. Apart from school teachers who are counted as receiving State aid, none of the above costs has been modified on the assumption that any form of relief or assistance is being received. Certain expenses are not included which however have to be met by parents during the years involved in the above Table: maintenance at home during vacations or for the whole year, travelling expenses, and pocket money, including clothes and subscriptions customarily made in schools or colleges, but not compulsory.

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picture rather than to pursue detail. The difficulty of obtaining information which can be regarded as representative as well as accurate makes such an effort, in a field so neglected by statisticians, somewhat of a venturesome undertaking. No doubt, many who rely on individual experience will feel disposed to challenge particular figures quoted above. However, it has been essential to arrive at some kind of generalization, and, in order to push the project to its conclusion, a summary Table is given on p. 314 which should enable the reader, if he bears the necessary assumptions in mind, to grasp the range and the variety of the professional field. In this Table every outlay of importance required for attaining proper professional standing has been included, apart from what is involved when candidates are living at home, travelling, their clothes and their pocket money. It is plain that the category of expense thus excluded is incalculable, but is in the main likely to be considerable if parents are not to mortify their children by making them dress and behave differently from their companions. Again, it may not be as expensive to board and lodge a child at home as it would be in outside lodgings or a university hostel; but food and housework have to be paid for under whatever roof. Above all it should be clearly understood that in the Table on p. 314, as in earlier tables of cost in this chapter, and indeed throughout the text itself, the lowest reasonable averages have been included. Thus, even when a relatively expensive course of training is quoted in contrast to a more modest one, the former refers to that minimum outlay necessitated by attending a relatively costly institution, and no more. An average bill for undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge, for example, has been taken only to comprise an average of compulsory college expenses, respectively £65 and £25 below the figure which is said to be allowed by the Board of Education as a 'reasonable' one. Thus, the object of this text has been to confine itself to a bedrock figure, for whose proportion there is genuine evidence, and which families must without any doubt cover in their

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outlays, rather than to guess at more inclusive and realistic aggregates, but ones scientifically indeterminate.

It is for the reader to add in his own mind the imponderables. But this much is indisputable about them — that for a student pursuing the relatively more costly paths it will be necessary to maintain a higher standard of life than for his poorer brethren who dwell in humbler surroundings. Thus, it would be foolish to add a fixed sum to each figure from top to bottom of the Table on p. 314. Additions should be made in such a way as to exaggerate the spread of the numbers. This need becomes more obvious, perhaps, if it is remembered that one of the elements in these expenses is the length of time during which training, or the period before full earning, must last, and throughout which parents must consider maintaining their offspring. The necessity of a prior university experience is widely felt among professional men, especially if, as the following pages will argue, they aim to rise high. Naturally, therefore, it is almost without exception those careers where university graduation or attendance at some equivalent institution is involved, which stretch over most years and cause the highest outlays. This fact can easily be seen from the Table on p. 315, where a well-defined break occurs at one point making it possible to divide the astronomical figures of the upper half from the more modest ones below. Beneath that division, except for the short courses of one or two years undertaken by social workers, university or equivalent instruction is only found where the cost has been lifted largely, if not entirely, from the shoulders of parents by outside institutions.

Expenses of maintenance are not uniform, and they present themselves to parents in several guises. First there are the obvious needs of vacation periods for all professional trainees. Some live at home throughout the whole of novitiate years, most of whom are not included in the Summary Table since there is no means of knowing how much should therefore be added in compensation for lodgings or hostel residence included

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in the other figures. Where those living at home and included in the Table have reached a high figure, it is because of the need to pay expensive premiums for pupilage. Only the actuary and the engineer are likely to be in a position to earn while studying and living at home. Of the less obvious forms taken by the burden of maintenance, perhaps the most important occurs after the attainment of technically full status, but before sufficient experience or further specialization has been won to bring in an adequate independent income. Engineers getting practical experience; merchant-navy officers waiting for a ship; musicians and artists looking for engagements; barristers waiting for briefs; these are well-known examples. This type of maintenance merges imperceptibly into two others. The attainment of special skill is difficult to distinguish from that additional training, almost entirely excluded from consideration in preceding pages, undertaken with intent to climb into the higher reaches of a given profession. Thus, one year in chambers, after being called to the Bar, seems to be virtually a necessity for barristers who intend to practise; but many reside for two or more years in order to equip themselves even further. Often, though by no means always, such periods of further study have to be paid for by an ambitious parent. On the other hand, it is difficult to separate maintenance during periods of low earnings, from maintenance of unemployed professional workers by their parents. Everyone knows that barristers often have to wait for years after the termination of their training and before they can gather a sufficient reputation to guarantee themselves a regular supply of briefs. Outright unemployment among the professions has, on the whole, been small in this country — supply outrunning demand has usually taken the form of trained men in inferior and poorly paid places. Notably in teaching, however, the situation has been changing of recent years, and Britain may be heading in the same unfortunate direction as some continental countries.¹

¹ See KOTSCHNIG, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*, 1937.

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L. Summary of Financial Assistance

Throughout this Section an attempt has been made to show how far the aspirant to membership of a profession can look for financial assistance in one form or another during his course. Apart from certain fields, such as teaching, nursing, or religious ministry, where public bodies are prepared to intervene to the extent of undertaking a major responsibility for a candidate's training, relief from professional costs seems considerably smaller in relation to numbers and to the potential demand than it is in the universities among those taking general arts degrees. Unfortunately no means exist whereby the proportion of scholarship holders among all professional trainees in this country can be assessed. Stray pieces of evidence do, however, appear from time to time to substantiate with exact figures what has been arrived at by less exact means. In the sphere of medicine, for example, it seems that out of the aggregate scholarships and grants awarded annually by L.E.A.s to intending university students, rarely as many as 10% are given to those destined for this study.¹ Again, figures were recently adduced² showing that whereas in London University outside the medical schools 36.3% of men and 31.1% of women enjoyed some form of financial assistance, the corresponding figures in the medical schools were as low as 13.1% and 17.3% — 522 medical students assisted out of a total of 3824. In particular, that most striking form of professional expense, the premium for pupilage, seems quite incapable of any form of mitigation from outside funds, although it is possible that a private display of poverty might soften the hearts of senior partners who are old friends of the family.

¹ See *Education*, Sept. 18th, 1936, p. 239.

² For the year 1934-35, according to the *Returns* of the University Grants Committee, p. 55, published in 1936. Compare, also, chap. iv, pp. 270-71.

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§ 5 HIGHER PROFESSIONAL POSTS: CONCLUSION

Just as parents will struggle to send their children to secondary schools, thereby to rescue them from blind-alley employment and the 'dole', so, higher up the social scale, families will make larger initial outlays in order to exempt their youngsters from years, or lifetimes, of genteel poverty and personal dependence, or better, in order to see them acquire a certain eminence in their own particular circle. A relatively humble type of such parental effort is manifested by eliminating uncertainty about their protégé's attaining a given, limited goal. They send him to the crammer's — only for a couple of hours costing 10s. a period, it may be, or perhaps for three full terms at the price of £200. Before the revisions made in the higher Civil Service examinations in 1937, almost as many successful candidates of recent years had studied with a single London crammer, as those who had sat the papers direct from a university. The crammers made some remissions of charges for men who held scholarships or received assistance at the university. So great has become the demand for minimizing the uncertainty of passing into the Civil Service that University College, London, offers cramming courses to graduates for 25 guineas, and an official adviser has been appointed at Cambridge to direct studies and give general counsel, at the cost of about £25 a year, to those who are zealous to pass the Indian Civil Service Examination.

But the crammer is only one straw in a wind which blows through every profession. Only for the most exceptional men — the sort who might be able to win scholarships from the first — will the relatively low fees and the minimal training, to which this chapter has been for the most part confined, suffice if they are to make any headway towards eminence. In professions where everybody comes from the university, the

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ambitious man must have been through Oxford or Cambridge: he must have acquired a good degree and good connections. If he is going to rise high in any branch of teaching — from engineering in the workshop to music in the cathedral — he must undertake research, or at least a higher degree. Masters of Arts must become doctors, veterinary surgeons must become masters, master mariners must obtain extra-masters' certificates, even nurses, if they are to get on, must sit further examinations, some requiring full-time study, after they have been enrolled in the general Register. It is true that much of this further study does not have to be financed out of parents' pockets, much, on the other hand, does have to be undertaken when a man is young, at the beginning of his career and before he can earn. Further courses in hospitals for doctors, and longer years in chambers, or, on the other hand, study and pupillage with more prominent teachers or firms, are obvious examples of heavy additional expenses upon the pockets of parents. It would seem that only the few and the fortunate do in fact succeed in confining themselves to the minimum cost of training. That these facts are well-recognized in the world of the professions itself, may perhaps be inferred from the special provision made for the acquisition of accomplishments beyond the minimum. Thus, to quote only from the sphere of medicine, it is so essential for dentists, if they are to rise to leading posts in hospitals or under public authorities, to gain general medical training, that many dental schools reduce their fees for combined medical and dental courses open to promising students, courses which add about two years to the minimum length of training and some £50 a year in tuition fees. Again, Edinburgh's two Royal Colleges for veterinary surgery offer valuable post-graduate scholarships for those who aim at prominence in their professional work, but find the initial financial strain too great. Ambitious men in the field of mental health may ease their paths by winning Commonwealth Fund Fellowships.

On the whole, however, the expenses of more ambitious, just

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as of minimal, training must be met unrelieved by assistance. So far is this true throughout the professional world, and so heavy are the total expenses for the most part involved, that nobody can doubt this world's having been designed to fit only the rich. But as social movement has become more feasible and attractive, and as a constantly more powerful ambition has invaded the breast of British parents to secure for their children not only employment of some kind, but employment under pleasant and independent conditions — the hall-mark of the professional worker for which many are ready to sacrifice income — and to secure it in less humble spheres of life than their own, so every year the professions have become less of a preserve for the wealthy. Correspondingly, those heavy expenses of training, which can so rarely be lightened, have exercised a steadily greater pressure on the debit side of family budgets. Such pressure can best be relieved by the simple method of eliminating in advance the cause of expenditure — children and their careers.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

§ I INTRODUCTION

THE preceding chapters have shown that, during the nineteenth century, Britain began to witness the expression of powerful impulses urging men into competition either with fellow members of their own class, or, much more important in latter years, with those higher up the social ladder whose station they coveted. New opportunities for social movement have appeared partly as a response to these impulses, partly as their cause.¹ Among such opportunities education has been prominent. Statistics prove that every kind of higher educational establishment — whether State-aided secondary schools, independent schools (including the 'public'), universities, or professional colleges — has steadily multiplied during the last sixty years, more particularly since the Great War, and that their halls remain crowded. Yet the cost of this education has continued to be substantial in relation to the normal income of families known to make use of it. How have families been able to meet these expenses? It has been maintained that often, only by limiting the size of their families could this be achieved. Conclusive or exhaustive proof of this contention has been lacking, for it could only have been obtained from the mouths of the innumerable parents concerned. Scattered, but direct, evidence, however, is plentiful. In addition, coinciding with this developing desire for higher education, birth-rate figures have reflected a steady decline in the size of families.² It can be taken,

¹ *vide supra*, chap. i, pp. 23-24.

² This by itself does not of course prove cause and effect, but taken together with other evidence provides a vital piece of confirmation.

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therefore, as beyond all possibility of reasonable doubt that the cost of paying for the new education must be assigned a significant share of responsibility for our contracting family circles. If so, it is important to ask whether some means could not be found of alleviating or removing that repressive influence.

Before taking the trouble of framing a policy, however, we want to know the sort of demographic situation that must be faced if we leave it to develop unguided. Such a situation would naturally not result from the pressure of educational costs alone. These costs take their place among all manner of influences affecting the birth-rate. What picture, then, will the joint result of these combined influences present? Enlightened by an answer to that question, we may expect to be in a better position to visualize what measures might reasonably be recommended for dealing with the toll which, thanks to the expenses of education, is at present exacted from our birth-rate.

§ 2 FUTURE TRENDS IN BIRTHS AND DEATHS

An attempt to shape such a picture, however, encounters difficulty in formulating the best 'natural'¹ hypotheses concerning the future history of births and deaths. Do recent events suggest that these rates² will remain steady in the future or will they increase or decrease? Here, all is conjecture, and so little conclusive knowledge do we possess about the relative strength of various influences exerted from all the manifold angles of our social life upon these rates, that it is difficult even to suggest how reasonable our estimates should be considered. Should we, for example, hold it reasonable to include the estimated

¹ By 'natural' is meant without outside interference from a conscious policy.

² For births, it must be noticed, the measurement used is a rate measuring fertility. It is not the crude rate of births per thousand of the whole population, but rates refined so as to relate births to women in specified age groups, i.e. specific fertility rates are used.

TRENDS IN BIRTHS AND DEATHS

effects of the present war, supposing the estimate could be made, among probable influences on these two rates in the future? Emigration or immigration, again, may affect total numbers in a quite unforeseen manner. In order to proceed from the known to the unknown, the best that can be done is to trace movements in the rates of births and deaths through given periods of the past, and then, taking count of contemporary tendencies, to work upon certain assumptions about the direction in which these rates may be expected to move through various periods of the future. In doing this, however, the wise statistician makes no claim to prophesy; he knows the limitations of the material he must handle. He confesses to doing nothing more than demonstrate the effect upon the numbers in our population of certain stated movements in births and deaths. Naturally, in fixing upon these movements he usually chooses those which seem to him most likely to be realized in actuality.

When the results of such calculations are examined, therefore, it must be clearly kept in mind that they do not pretend to predict the future in detail and with impeccable accuracy. If the assumptions involved, however, are based upon all the information available concerning past trends and present tendencies, they must be recognized as showing a course of events which seem eminently likely to be realized in general outline, if not in minute detail. Furthermore, it has to be realized that to a very large extent in this matter of population, the past has already determined the future. Thus, low birth-rates in years that are already behind us will soon result in the number of potential mothers (i.e. women in the child-bearing ages) growing rapidly smaller from year to year. Under those circumstances, the total of births will contract even if each woman has as large a family as her mother's, and, maybe, even if she has a larger one. Similarly, apart altogether from what the future of births may hold in store, the school age-groups are bound to face a period of contraction during the years immediately ahead of us. For the number of births

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steadily dwindled from year to year after the Great War until 1933,¹ and these children have yet to pass through the educational system.

To trace the future course of certain age groups, then, requires for a number of years no assumption whatever as to what is likely to happen to the curve of births from now on. For this purpose, the relevant part of this curve has already been shaped in the past. For the future, only the death-rate must be taken into consideration. Some allowance may be made for improvements in the preservation of life; but there is no way of allowing for abnormal movements that might occur, whether from natural causes or from artificial ones like war. Sooner or later, however (i.e. according to whether a very young or an older age group is being considered), the question of births must also be faced. For example, if it is desired in 1940 to make future provision for children aged 7, it would be essential to realize that the children who would reach that age in 1948 and later years are not yet born. Consequently, before any idea could be formed of the dimensions of this age group in 1948 and afterwards, an estimate would be necessary about the number of children who might be born after 1940. On the other hand, if the age group in question were 17-year-olds,

¹ Since 1933 it is true that the downward curve of births has been halted, but in all the years since then the upturn has only been enough to recover the drop in a single year, 1932 to 1933. The figures for live births in England and Wales have been:

<i>England and Wales</i>		<i>England and Wales</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Births</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Births</i>
1913	881,890	1926	694,563
1914	879,096	1927	654,172
1915	814,614	1928	660,267
1916	785,520	1929	643,673
1917	668,346	1930	648,811
1918	662,661	1931	632,081
1919	692,438	1932	613,972
1920	957,782	1933	580,413
1921	848,814	1934	597,642
1922	780,124	1935	598,756
1923	758,131	1936	605,292
1924	729,933	1937	610,557
1925	710,582	1938	621,204

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statisticians could rely on death-rates alone to give probable figures for the group until as late as 1958, because the children are already born who will reach age 17 before that year. However, since the various educational institutions — from the kindergarten and nursery schools to the universities and professional colleges — provide for ages ranging from 3 or 4 to some twenty years or so beyond that tender age, it will probably be best to consider in a single calculation all ages with which educational institutions are concerned, and to trace, on the assumption of certain eventualities for births as well as deaths, what trends may be expected in both during the next 25 or 30 years.

The question remains, what should be the most reasonable assumption concerning births and deaths during the coming years? Deaths need cause little difficulty, although even there certainty escapes us. Apart from violent interruption of the normal ways of life in this country, we can probably look forward to some further reduction in death-rates, particularly among infants and those in child-birth. There can be small hope, however, that improvements in these rates will be anything like as rapid in the future as in the past. Births, on the other hand, pose a serious problem. Is it most reasonable to anticipate, on the basis of recent figures,¹ that the curve of births has now taken a definitely upward turn and may be expected to rise steadily? That, undoubtedly, would be the most comforting assumption, but unfortunately there seems no real justification for it. It has already been pointed out² that the actual increase in the absolute number of births in five years after 1933, the blackest moment in the history of our birth statistics, has not been impressive. The same statement is true of the rate of birth relative to the total population, a rate which has only changed from 14.4 per thousand in 1933 to 15.1 per thousand in 1938 and that without an uninterrupted upward

¹ *vide supra*, p. 326, footnote 1.

² *ibid.*

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movement. Previously, the lowest figure had been 15.3 in 1932. But if the figures themselves offer small ground for optimism, a consideration of their significance, and still more of other relevant factors in the picture of population as a whole, seems finally to disperse the last shreds of hope for a bright procreative future.

In the first place, the reason for the recent temporary resurgence of the birth-rate — it is little more than a stabilization, the crude rate having recorded 15.3, 14.4, 14.8, 14.7, 14.8, 14.9, 15.1, between 1932 and 1938 — can almost certainly be traced to trade recovery and to political causes.¹ Indeed, marriages have so increased that the chances of an adult man's or woman's achieving marriage are now greater than they have been over a long period.² Combine with this the fact that even to-day, first births follow marriages in a close sequence, and further explanation of the higher birth-rate since 1933 will appear unnecessary. There is no evidence whatever which points to any other changes in the situation, and the increase in marriages is large enough to bear the whole responsibility. If so, we should look in vain for any permanent increase in births from that source, sufficient to lead ultimately to a higher net reproduction rate.³ Over the past half century or so during which the birth-rate has been declining, the rate of marriages has preserved a remarkably uniform mean around which it

¹ A general recovery of trade can be traced from 1933 until to-day. A temporary business set-back occurred during the autumn of 1937 and the spring of 1938, when some marriages may have been delayed. But the slack was later caught up and hastened by the Munich Crisis. During the following twelve months when the threat of war was hanging over Europe, and especially on the declaration of war in September 1939, many marriages were similarly hastened.

² The annual marriages per 1000 of the total population in England and Wales have been:

1881-90	7.5	1916	7.5	1922	7.9	1928	7.7	1934	8.5
1891-00	7.8	1917	6.9	1923	7.6	1929	7.9	1935	8.6
1901-10	7.7	1918	7.7	1924	7.7	1930	7.9	1936	8.7
1911-13	7.8	1919	9.9	1925	7.6	1931	7.8	1937	8.7
1914	7.9	1920	10.1	1926	7.2	1932	7.7	1938	8.7
1915	9.7	1921	8.5	1927	7.9	1933	7.9		

³ A measure of the number of future mothers born, on the average, to a mother of to-day.

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has fluctuated during economic booms and slumps, or under the influence of war.¹ In all likelihood, therefore, the present high marriage rate will soon collapse, with the onset of the next depression in trade and expansion of unemployment, even if continued war-time conditions have not to be reckoned with. But, in any event, and this is perhaps more important, there is very little room for further improvement in the marriage rate, since the proportion of young people who are not marrying consists of a margin which can scarcely be much further narrowed. Finally, it must be borne in mind that a marriage hastened by more flourishing economic conditions, or by declaration of war, and soon followed by a first child, perhaps even by a second, may hold no ultimate promise to the community of a large completed family. The latter may be neither greater nor smaller, in fact, than the couple would have contemplated had they been forced to delay marriage for another year or so.

In the second place, whereas the number of women in the child-bearing ages has been increasing slightly during recent years, that number must begin to fall in the immediate future and continue to fall at an increasing rate.² This decline could be offset by nothing less than an upswing in fertility of such dimensions as to be fantastic under present circumstances. Families have already become very small among our upper and middle classes, but not so among manual workers. To the latter neither the knowledge nor the means for successful contraception has yet become widely available. But that situation must surely change before long. Undoubtedly a majority of such classes would be eager enough to receive the

¹ See p. 328, footnote 2. The uniformity of the mean can be seen from the figures covering the three decades, from 1881 to 1913. The rise in the number of marriages during 1915 reflects the hastening due to war; the rise during the years 1919-21 reflects the postponement due to the war. Economic conditions remained, thanks to our monetary policy, so generally depressed throughout the decade, 1922-32, that the reaction of the marriage rate to the boom of 1929 and the slump of 1930 was comparatively feeble. For the period since then, see p. 328, footnote 1.

² *vide supra*, p. 325.

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knowledge, and to put it into practice, if they could afford the means. Escape would be welcomed from a depressing poverty exaggerated by large families of unwanted children. Even now, crude efforts are often made to avoid creating another mouth whose advent would only deepen the wretchedness of the entire family. If these efforts could be more properly guided, their success would be assured. The gain in comfort would be immense to poor families, and, realizing this, they are already patronizing birth-control clinics where the latter exist. From one point of view, also, the community may anticipate a share in this gain. For it might be hoped that part of the reductions would be effected in families of less desirable hereditary qualities, and particularly those of sub-normal mental capacity. On the other hand, however, it will also lose, when families which might have contributed useful and even gifted children to the make-up of society are curtailed. In any case, whatever might befall quality, further serious reductions are already foreshadowed in large sections of the population. In short, war apart, there seems no escape from the conclusion that unless new inducements are introduced to persuade parents to undertake larger families, or unless the same end is reached by some method of compulsion, the fertility rate in this country will shortly assume once more a downward course. War over a period of years would undoubtedly complicate the situation. No attempt will be made, however, to estimate precisely what effect may be anticipated. That is unpredictable. But if the experience of the Great War were repeated, the general downward trend of the birth-rate would not be radically altered by the war: after a period of exceptionally low figures followed by a brief post-war resurgence, the present direction of trend would be resumed when peace returns.¹ However that may be, the rate of declining births to be suggested below does not take the present war into account. Had that been done, populations in various age-

¹ *vide supra*, p. 326, for statistics of births; and pp. 328-29, especially footnotes.

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groups in the future must have been set at least at no higher estimate than in this text, and probably at a lower. How much cannot be calculated; but that they would probably be lower only reinforces the arguments based on more conservative estimates.

With calculations thus grounded, it appears very likely that our fertility rate in the immediate future will decline, albeit less steeply than in the years preceding 1933. Accordingly, the figures given here will be based upon just such an assumption and upon the supposition, already referred to, of an improvement in death-rates.¹ This assumption may seem, in war time, unduly optimistic. However, the exact toll of this war is quite as unpredictable upon deaths as upon births, even by past standards. Moreover, to err once more in the optimistic direction will again strengthen the case for a policy justified even on the following estimates. No account is taken of emigration or immigration.² It is hardly necessary to labour through calculations for an entirely new estimate of the future course of our population. Several careful studies of this subject have been made in the past few years.³ Until new information is available, as a result of the Population (Statistics) Act⁴ and of the next census, there is no basis for refining upon the results of these studies. Consequently, two sets of figures taken from Dr. Charles's work⁵ will be quoted here, showing probable outside limits for our future population at various periods.

Her first estimate, which is that first quoted in the following

¹ *vide supra*, p. 327.

² It should, perhaps, be noted that before 1914, as far back as the figures go, there was always a net loss by migration movements from the British Isles, and that this net loss continued year by year after the Great War until 1931. In that year, loss turned into gain, and ever since then there has been a net inflow into these islands. If international prosperity returns once more, it may be that emigrants leaving these shores will again outnumber those coming in.

³ Notably by ENID CHARLES, *Cambridge Economic Service*, Memo. 55, 1935; GRACE G. LEYBOURNE, *Sociological Review*, April 1934; and D. V. GLASS in an investigation whose results are now in course of publication.

⁴ Put into force in July, 1938.

⁵ We choose these estimates because they give figures for individual ages and thereby permit a close analysis of school ages.

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pages, traces the consequence of a return once more to the nadir of fertility reached in 1933, but without any further fall in this rate. Unfortunately, she likewise took the death-rate as constant at the level achieved in 1933. But if the latter hypothesis seems to underestimate the powers of medical science even now to cut down the ravages of the death-rate, fertility seems likely to plumb depths even lower than it reached in 1933. The figures resulting from the combination of hypotheses found in Dr. Charles's first estimate probably represent upper limits of population which are unlikely to be much exceeded, unless the future is brightened by the appearance of entirely new factors. In fact, if present prospects are not misleading, the reality of population statistics in the future may be far more gloomy than the above assumptions would suggest. In a second estimate Dr. Charles examines how our population would suffer if fertility were to fall continuously 'in a manner suggested by recent experience'.¹ Death-rates also were supposed to follow the same course in the future as they have in the past.² It has already been suggested, however,³ that rates neither of

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 3. In detail, this means that she made the following assumptions for fertility of women at different ages:

Under 20 years, these rates would remain constant

At age 20-24, they would decrease by 5% every five years

At age 25-39, they would decrease by 15% every five years

At age 40-49, they would decrease by 25% every five years

Decrease was assumed to continue until 1985. If these rates were realized, the 'gross reproduction rate' (i.e. the average number of baby girls born to each woman to-day, or in other words the net reproduction rate before allowance has been made for the fact that death will cut off many of these baby girls either before they reach the child-bearing period at all or else before they have passed right through it) in England and Wales would fall by 23% between 1935-40 and 1945-50—from 0.737 to 0.566. In ten previous years between 1923 and 1933 this rate had registered a decline as large as 28%—from 1.176 to 0.845. The author comments, 'it will be seen that the error in extrapolating thus from the present trend is on the conservative side' (*ibid.*, p. 5).

² i.e. the following assumptions were adopted for mortality rates:

At ages under 1 year, they would fall by 20% every five years

At ages between 1 and 70, they would fall by 10% every five years

The fall was assumed to cease after 1965.

At ages over 70, no further decrease was assumed. 'The final mortality reached in 1965 resulted in a mean expectation of life at birth of 68.3 for males and 71.1 for females' (*ibid.*, p. 6).

³ *vide supra*, p. 331.

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birth nor of death are likely to repeat the history of collapse through which they have passed since the Great War. Declines from now on may be expected to proceed at a more moderate rate. For the purpose of giving a reasonable lower limit for population figures in the future, therefore, the second estimate given below represents the arithmetical mean between figures given in Dr. Charles's first and second estimates. In this way two highly reasonable estimates are constructed which will henceforth be referred to as Contingency A and Contingency B. Such a method of arriving at estimates admittedly lacks the refinement we can nowadays expect in these calculations; but if it is not desired to know in detail what assumptions are involved concerning the rates of fertility and mortality,¹ the figures arrived at will usefully serve to show how far a fertility which continues to decline — if moderately — will lead the curve of population statistics below that which would be followed on the basis of a fertility constant at the 1933 level.

§3 FUTURE POPULATION IN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

The population in all ages need not be considered here, but only those in the normal educable ages. In the following pages, then, an attempt will be made to trace the possible fortunes of certain types of school already discussed, including the 'public' and other similar schools, and of the universities in England and Wales. The method is as follows: to examine first the proportion of the relevant age group of the population which is found in each type of institution during the most recent year for which statistics are available;² then to make two calculations over a period of years stretching up to 1965. Of these the first shows how the aggregate of students would

¹ To all intents and purposes, up to 1965 or thereabouts they may be taken to decline each year about half as rapidly as Dr. Charles-assumed in her second estimate.

² i.e. 1936 for non-aided schools where List 60 must be relied upon, and 1938 for grant-aided secondary schools and the universities.

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decline respectively according to Contingencies A and B, if the above proportion remained unchanged from year to year. In the second place, it is shown how under these same Contingencies that proportion would need to increase if no inroads are to be made in present numbers.¹

First and foremost, then, what of the future trend of numbers in grant-aided secondary schools? A summary of the main stages in the calculation follows:

GRANT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS: ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATIONS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Estimate of Total Population aged 7-18 T</i>	<i>Pupils if Related to T in Same Ratio as Enrolments of 1938 Total</i>	<i>% Decline from 1938 Level</i>	<i>Ratio of Pupils to T if Enrolments to Remain as in 1938 %</i>
<i>Contingency A</i>				
1938	7,780,000	470,000	—	6.041
1950	6,328,000	382,274	18.67	7.427
1965	5,687,000	343,552	26.91	8.264
<i>Contingency B</i>				
1938	7,781,000	470,000	—	6.040
1950	6,026,500	364,000	22.55	7.798
1965	4,631,000	279,710	40.49	10.149

Even if the most hopeful outlook is taken of the way in which our birth-rate is likely² to move in the future (i.e. if it is assumed that, after regaining the low figure of 1933, it will then stabilize), it will be seen that, if the proportion does not increase of children at the ages of 7-18 who attend these schools, then the total population in them is likely to decline to the extent

¹ For the detailed results of these computations see Table P.

² i.e. without 'artificial' change as a result of a population policy or war. This assumption is made throughout the following estimates of the future.

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of 18.67% by the middle of the century, and of 26.91%, i.e. about a quarter, by 1965. The number of pupils could only be maintained at the 1938 figure of 470,000 if the proportion of the country's children between 7 and 18 within these schools rose from the present 6.041% to 7.427% in 1950 and to 8.264% in 1965. On the other hand, if fertility and mortality should continue to fall, albeit at a slower rate than that to which we have been accustomed in the ten years or so before 1933, then by 1965 there might be no more than 279,710 boys and girls in these secondary schools, a figure 40% lower than to-day's total. To maintain the present total, it would be necessary to send to these schools 10 out of every 100 children in the relevant ages, instead of only 6 per 100.

To turn now to the boarding 'public' schools for boys (i.e. BP schools), what does the future hold in store for them, if we suppose the relevant age group to consist of boys in the ages 13-18? Once more the results can be summarized:

BOARDING 'PUBLIC' SCHOOLS FOR BOYS (BP. SCHOOLS): ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATIONS

Year	Estimate of Total Population of Boys aged 13-18 T	Pupils if Related to T in Same Ratio as Enrolments of 1936		Ratio of Pupils to T if Enrolments to Remain as in 1936 %
		Total	% Decline from 1936 Level	
Contingency A				
1936	2,005,000	34,013	—	1.696
1950	1,630,000	27,645	18.73	2.087
1965	1,481,000	25,118	26.16	2.297
Contingency B				
1936	2,005,500	34,013	—	1.696
1950	1,605,500	27,229	19.95	2.118
1965	1,244,000	21,090	38.00	2.735

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In terms of percentage decline from the present position, the prospect seems much like that outlined above for the grant-aided secondary schools. Since BP schools are almost entirely private institutions, however, i.e. outside the scope of State finance, a total loss in numbers not far short of the order of 13,000, would naturally prove a much more serious matter to them than the loss to the State-aided schools of some 190,000 which it seems possible they may have to contemplate. This question will be returned to later, but here let it be noticed that at the worst, if fertility declines to the extent assumed in Contingency B, numbers attending BP schools in 1965 could be maintained at the present level only by increasing the proportion of all boys between 13 and 18 within their gates from 1.696% to 2.735% — an increase of nearly three-quarters, whose significance can be fully appreciated only when reference is made once more to absolute numbers. It would involve a difference of 12,923 in the total of boys on these registers. Even with fertility not falling lower than the level which we have already experienced for 1933, an aggregate loss in numbers of 9000 or so might threaten these schools not later than 1965, and equilibrium at the 1936 figures could be achieved only if the fraction in attendance from the relevant age group rose as high as 2.297%, i.e. only if the proportion in attendance leaps by about another third.

Those responsible for girls' schools of a similar, although not strictly parallel, type will be faced with a similar dilemma. Here, the ages drawn upon are considerably less concentrated than in boys' 'public' schools, for girls seldom attend, in their junior years, a separate preparatory school. They normally proceed straight to secondary education at ages comparable to those for admission to State-aided secondary schools. Consequently, in examining the population in girls' non-aided (but inspected and 'recognized') secondary schools, the relevant age group must be extended, it will be remembered, to the years 7-18.

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NON-AIDED BUT 'RECOGNIZED' (OR EFFICIENT) SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS: ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATIONS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Estimate of Total Population of Girls aged 7-18 T</i>	<i>Pupils if Related to T in Same Ratio as Enrolments of 1936 Total</i>	<i>% Decline from 1936 Level</i>	<i>Ratio of Pupils to T if Enrolments to Remain as in 1936 %</i>
<i>Contingency A</i>				
1936	3,822,000	36,655	—	.959
1950	3,123,000	29,950	18.29	1.174
1965	2,808,000	26,929	26.53	1.305
<i>Contingency B</i>				
1936	3,822,000	36,655	—	.959
1950	2,972,000	28,501	22.25	1.233
1965	2,282,000	21,884	40.30	1.606

It will be seen that, at a minimum, contraction in these numbers is likely to reach the proportions of 9000, unless girls in the ages 7-18 can be increasingly drawn into these schools. If not, and if at the same time fertility pursues a downward course, then there is every prospect that loss may mount up to as much as 15,000 or so by 1965.

Out of all these educational institutions, the universities alone, it seems, may be able to count upon immunity from drastic curtailment in numbers by the middle of the century. Since students at the English and Welsh universities often come from homes in Scotland or Ireland—as well as from the countries outside the United Kingdom altogether—it is necessary, in order to look into the future, to be provided with some facts concerning either students from within England and Wales alone, or else the possible future trend of population in the entire United Kingdom. Unfortunately, such facts are not

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available, and the best that can be done here is to relate students at the English and Welsh Universities and whose homes are within the United Kingdom to estimates of the population of England and Wales alone. The figures which can be given for universities, therefore, are rather less satisfactory than those for schools, but the margin of error is probably not large. In the first place, the large majority of these students will come from homes within the borders of England and Wales itself, so that movements in this population are highly relevant. In the second place, the contingent from Scotland and Ireland is unlikely to grow much larger, since the trend in the population of these two countries is expected to be very similar to that over here. With these reservations, then, figures of the possible future population in England and Wales may be examined as the main reservoir of students from the universities in those countries.

UNIVERSITIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES: ESTIMATES OF FUTURE TOTALS OF STUDENTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM*

Year	Estimate of Total Popula- tion (England and Wales) aged 18-22. <i>T</i>	<i>Pupils if Related to T in Same Ratio as Enrolments of 1938</i>		<i>Ratio of Pupils to T if Enrolments to Remain as in 1938</i>
		Total	% Decline from 1938 Level	%
<i>Contingency A</i>				
1938	3,002,000	34,890	—	1.163
1950	2,889,000†	33,570†	3.79	1.208
1965	2,495,000	28,991	16.91	1.398

* The present figures for university students (for the academic year 1937-38), are taken from the *Returns* of the University Grants Committee.

† Contingency B, it will be remembered, normally gives lower figures for the population than Contingency A; it does not do so in this case because death-rates alone are involved in discovering an estimate of 18-22-year-olds in 1950 (see p. 326), and Contingency B assumes more saving of life from a declining death-rate than does Contingency A with a constant rate of deaths.

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Estimate, etc.</i>	<i>Number of Pupils, etc.</i>		<i>Ratio, etc.</i>
<i>Contingency B</i>				
1938	3,004,000	34,890	—	1.161
1950	2,897,000†	33,634†	3.60	1.204
1965	2,198,500	25,525	26.85	1.587

† Contingency B (see opposite page).

It will be seen that, whether or not fertility declines from now on, if university students from the United Kingdom were to continue to represent some 1.163% of young people between the ages of 18 and 22 in England and Wales, then by 1950 university losses, although amounting in absolute numbers to 1200 or 1300, would represent as a percentage no more than 3.6% or 3.8%, a figure which would compare very favourably with the 19% or 23% decline with which aided secondary schools are threatened. Another fifteen years, however, might find the universities in a sorry plight. If by then university life were no more widespread than to-day, then according to Contingency A the total of students would have shrunk by 16.91%, and by as much as 26.85% on the basis of Contingency B. To offset influences assumed in the latter, that proportion of 18-22-year-olds seeking graduation would have to rise by almost one half, an achievement which can scarcely be anticipated with confidence.

It must be emphasized again that, in common with all estimates of future populations, the figures given above make no claim to accurate prophecy; they would not even go so far as to foretell the precise aggregates which will be found on these school and university registers if it could be known that the proportions drawn from each relevant age group would not be changed. They do show, however, what the state of affairs would be, if certain basis assumptions concerning the future of births and deaths were realized. Furthermore, those assumptions have not been chosen at random. They have been chosen merely because, after careful analysis of the past and present

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state of the population, they seem, in the absence of a conscious population policy, and apart from unpredictable influences of the present war, to fix reasonable upper and lower limits to future demographic movements. That fertility will not sink much below its value in 1933 seems the very best that can be hoped. The persistence, therefore, of 1933 rates both of births and deaths, would lead to population aggregates, it is suggested, which, with present prospects, can scarcely be exceeded. On the whole, however, both birth-rate and death-rate seem more than likely to continue to decline for some years, and to fall below the 1933 figures. Just how rapid this decline will be it is impossible even to suggest. Accordingly, the second estimate traces the consequences of a decline in both roughly half as rapid as that recently experienced in this country.¹ To the best of our present knowledge, we can locate the path of likelihood somewhere in the area between the two estimates.

Such, then, is the experience we may have to face of change in our secondary school and university population. This, naturally, is only one way of looking at the future of our population as a whole, whose probable shrinkage is nowadays familiar to the public in general outline. But these pages have been concerned only with one strand in the complex of causes which lie behind our declining birth-rate. The proposals to be made in this chapter will similarly concentrate upon offsetting the influence of that single cause, that is, upon ways and means of alleviating the burden of educational expenses.

§4 THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS: REDUCED FEES AS AN ESCAPE FROM DECLINING NUMBERS

In the first place, what measures can be proposed to encourage parents, even if they insist upon education in relatively expensive private schools, to contemplate responsibility for an

¹ *vide supra*, p. 333.

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extra child or so, and incidentally promise these private schools at the same time some avenue of escape from the misfortune of constantly shorter registers? The first suggestion which leaps to the mind is probably an extension of existing facilities for remission of fees, whether by special arrangements or through regular scholarships. As for the non-aided schools, it has already been seen¹ that facilities in either type of relief go only a niggardly way, both in terms of numbers available and, more significantly, in terms of financial value, towards counter-acting the total expenses of education. A wide extension of these opportunities would no doubt encourage many families to take advantage of them. School enrolments might be expected to rise in proportion to the generosity of new benefits. The birth-rate among relevant classes in the population, however, would be most unlikely to respond in any way. Even if measures for assisted education became incomparably more numerous than to-day, yet so long as uncertainty exists whether or not any particular child will be found worthy of substantial help, there is little chance that resolute parents will modify their present policy of restricting families, when that is necessary in order to make sure of the education upon which they have set their hearts. They will not easily forego the sense of assurance arising from an ability to pay to the full like any other parent, and rely upon private munificence to educate a larger family for them. Even if scholarships were earmarked for certain purposes, as for especially large families or for second and later children, the element of uncertainty would still remain, and the whole policy would meet with little success in the realms of fertility. To rely on a population policy based on scholarships or remissions would be to build on sand. In the long run, it would prove a failure even from the point of view of the schools themselves. For while a new influx of assisted pupils might help to keep up numbers during the otherwise lean years immediately ahead of us, the threat of permanent con-

¹ *vide supra*, chap. iii.

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traction would be no less real in the end, if the families from which they can expect to draw their pupils had steadily contracted in the meanwhile. Entries to the boys' 'public' schools in 1953 and subsequent years, for example, will depend upon how many are born from 1940 onwards; a rapid decline in these births would almost certainly more than counterbalance increases which, through drawing boys away from other establishments by a more generous distribution of scholarships or other remissions, might have swollen the entries to non-aided schools. Nothing less than an all-round reduction of fees can be relied upon to fill empty class-rooms.

To establish such a conclusion is easy; to put it into practice may prove a matter of extreme difficulty. For could the non-aided schools on their own initiative afford to pursue a policy of all-round reductions? That is the vital question. Already the decline in numbers has driven at least one of the boys' 'public' schools to the verge of collapse as an independent institution. It has been saved temporarily by reducing its fees far below the figure charged in most boarding schools — i.e. to about £90 a year inclusive of board and tuition. This change has been adopted, however, only after old boys of the school had responded to an urgent plea from their *alma mater* for help. Other schools may similarly appeal to their old boys, but for obvious reasons such a method can scarcely be expected to yield the final answer to this pressing question. The schools will have to cast about for a more permanent solution. The recently formed committee nominated by the 'public' schools, and the investigation in progress by preparatory schools, show which way the wind is blowing. No doubt an inquiry will be urged upon independent schools as to whether it is possible to effect such economies in their administration, in kitchen or class-room, that the school charges could be cut without risk to the financial stability of the entire undertaking. That cuts could to a certain extent be made, seems to be a fairly wide opinion. Members of the Association of Bursars of Public Schools, for example, have

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admitted that, with thorough overhauling and a careful scrutiny of details, a good deal of saving could be effected. Formerly, there has been no desire to disturb or modify systems which seemed to be working well enough; but when precarious financial solvency, if not outright insolvency, otherwise threatens, every avenue of escape will, no doubt, be explored with eagerness.¹ Nevertheless, it would be idle to suppose that any reduction in fees, which could thus be made possible, would approach the scale necessary to persuade parents with limited incomes, and yet ambitions for relatively expensive educations, to contemplate an extra child or two. Nor is it easy to imagine how any other scheme, which does not go beyond the resources of the schools themselves, can reach that goal.

Under those circumstances, if large numbers of independent schools are not to close down and the remainder to subject themselves to an intensely fierce competition for a dwindling aggregate of potential pupils, an extension of State assistance seems inevitable. The very fact that an 'extension' can be suggested, and not an 'introduction', shows how far from revolutionary such a development would be. During the school year 1936-37 there were 108,282 boys in schools which, although assisted by grants from public funds, nevertheless retained in their hands responsibility for their own government. In contrast to council secondary schools, they were, in fact, subject to the scrutiny of no local education authority, but were answerable only to their own individual board of governors. Moreover, 42,057 of these boys could be found in schools represented on the Headmasters' Conference, i.e. in 'public' schools. Nor has this State aid, given to self-governing schools, failed during the years since the Great War to spread out in widening circles. Among girls, 54,978 were to be found in such schools in 1919-20,

¹ The present war has now introduced an extra strain upon the independent schools. Their endowments have often deteriorated in yield, and taxation has become a heavier burden. In pressing upon parents, also, taxation may lead to a transfer of pupils from many of these schools. Commandeering of premises has sometimes added a last straw.

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whereas by 1936-37, this figure had reached 69,885; boys concerned grew from 89,096 in 1920-21 to the 108,282 quoted above.¹ To suggest help, therefore, from State funds for independent schools which might otherwise become bankrupt, is only to advocate a wider application of a principle which is already generally accepted.

If its acceptance, however, has not proved too onerous upon schools which are for the most part attended by day boys, new issues might, nevertheless, be raised if boarding schools were to be brought into the system, and there can be no doubt that our leading schools will exert every effort to avoid any such necessity. With a little ingenuity a scheme could probably be devised which would inaugurate State assistance for these institutions along lines parallel to those followed by the University Grants Committee in distributing public assistance to our universities. If Oxford and Cambridge can receive as much as one-quarter of their total income during a year from Parliamentary grants,² why should our leading schools shrink from a similar course? The ancient universities can now accept boys of elementary school origin without significant loss to their high prestige. At the university stage the intermingling of men and women of the most various origins is commonly accepted as a beneficial consequence of the institution of scholarships. In school days, however, such intercourse is, wherever possible, sedulously eliminated, and schools tend to lose in reputation when that course is closed to them. Yet closed it is, as soon as grants are accepted from the public exchequer.³

The question whether these schools would, under such circumstances, still hesitate to open their doors wider, must yield precedence to another. How far, in fact, even if help were finally sought, would the State be prepared to go towards undertaking these new obligations? Before any extensive policy were

¹ Tables B give further details of these aided but self-governing schools.

² *Returns of the University Grants Committee, 1937-38, Table 9.*

³ See chap. iii, p. 197.

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launched of saving the independent schools from collapse, the country would naturally need to ask how far such a policy is desirable for the common good. If the acceptance for free education of a certain specified number of children from the elementary schools were still laid down as a fundamental condition for the receipt of State-aid, the public might well want to consider how far it would be desirable to go in thus introducing children largely from the working and lower middle classes into institutions possessing an exclusive tradition and history. The more important among these independent schools are intended for the children of the rich, and it is a matter for much difference of opinion whether it would be advisable to train children from other classes in this atmosphere. Strong opinions against such a course would no doubt be expressed from two quite opposite points of view. On the one hand, many would be very loath to countenance the influx of children from the lower ranks of society into schools hitherto reserved for the higher, because they regard segregation in school days—though not necessary in university years¹—as essential for the proper training of 'leaders'. To bring the 'masses' into too close contact with the 'leaders' during school days, they would argue, would be fatal to the whole structure of our social life. On the other hand, there would be those ready to object with equal vigour that drawing off a stream of the most able children from the families of the workers, in order to educate them side by side with the wealthy, would merely rob the workers of potential champions.

The first type of objection might be met if help from the State were unconditional. But could the State contemplate lending its financial support to an institution which was unwilling to guarantee the observance of certain conditions? Clearly not. But the Government might well be prepared to lay down new, in place of the old, unacceptable, conditions. It might be felt, for example, that even if many of the smaller and often positively inefficient non-aided (i.e. mainly small private) schools could

¹ *vide supra*, p. 344.

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disappear without sacrificing the common good, yet England's leading and influential schools should at all costs be preserved and with no change in tradition. Such a view would in all probability receive the undivided support of the first opposing group.

Support from the second, however, might still be withheld. Unless recruitment to the privileged schools, now supported at least in part from the taxpayer's pocket, were to be made dependent exclusively upon proved suitability and capacity for the training they would offer, and not merely upon an accident of birth, then the State's undertaking responsibility for them would undoubtedly meet strong opposition. There exists to-day widespread agreement with the editor of a journal, well-known in educational circles:¹ 'The boarding school is an educational asset of tremendous value. How much longer can it be reserved largely for the use of a small (privileged) section of the community?' Once the question of State-aid for these institutions were raised, dissatisfaction along these lines would probably become vocal.

Opposition to this granting of public money on special terms might not, however, end there. At a time when accepted institutions were being called in question, many would be inclined to ask whether the boarding school is indeed 'an educational asset of tremendous value'. They might ask in all seriousness whether the segregation of boys or girls together for long periods of the year, and away from normal contacts with members of the opposite sex, is indeed the best possible training that can be conceived for large numbers of children. Except where homes are broken or unfitted for containing children, or where the children themselves need special treatment, many would feel very strongly that day schools, combining education with home life among adults and contemporaries of the opposite as well as of their own sex, would provide that background psychologically most sound for training future generations.

¹ *The Times Educational Supplement*, May 6th, 1939.

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The State, however, if called upon to come to the assistance of independent schools on a large scale, would not only have to decide between these conflicting points of view: it would also have to decide whether the vote for education in the Civil Estimates could be expanded far enough to permit the Board of Education's undertaking new obligations on the necessary scale. Could we, in fact, as a nation afford this new expenditure? It might be argued that if the national vote for education were maintained at its present level and if local authorities were also prepared to allocate a constant sum for educational purposes, then in a few years, since the school population would be falling rapidly, certain sums of money would automatically become available which could be used for the support of independent schools. It could be pointed out that by 1950, boys and girls in grant-aided secondary schools may shrink from the 470,000 of March 1938 to 364,000 or so, and to about 279,700 in another fifteen years.¹ Meanwhile the number of children to be provided for in elementary schools is also likely to shrink rapidly, as follows:²

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: ESTIMATES OF FUTURE POPULATIONS

Year	<i>Estimate of Total Population aged 3-16</i>		<i>Number of Pupils if Related to T in Same Ratio as Enrolments of 1938</i>	
	<i>T</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% Decline from 1938 Level</i>	
1938	8,586,500	5,091,975	—	
1950	6,697,000	3,971,460	22.01	
1965	5,091,500	3,019,360	40.70	

In these elementary schools where the children in attendance are scarcely likely in the future to form a larger proportion of

¹ *vide supra*, p. 334, Contingency B.

² According to Contingency B, *vide supra*, p. 333.

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the total in relevant age groups than they do now, there may by 1950 be only three-quarters as many to provide for as there are to-day, whereas by 1965 this fraction may have shrunk to rather less than two-thirds. With such a general shrinkage in prospect in State-aided schools of various types, therefore, it might well be imagined that in due course the cost of our educational services will be so reduced that substantial grants to independent schools could easily be financed.

Such arguments overlook two important considerations. In the first place, with the working out of Hadowism still in progress, the Board of Education and Local Authorities are likely to have more demands made upon their funds than they could adequately meet even if a falling school population brought a certain relief, and even if no progress were visualized nor changes contemplated other than those already in hand. Even before the present war, the idea of funds to spare in the world of State education had, in fact, no chance whatever of being realized. To-day, the war has called for heavy expenditure upon A.R.P. and evacuation, with the result that even routine replacements have been suspended and are piling up calls for the future upon any money available.

In the second place, it is important to realize that, in any case, a falling population in State schools carries no promise of immediate saving to the public exchequer. How will the falling population show itself? Not in the cutting off of an entire class or two from the schools, as those who prophesy a great saving in expense seem to imagine, but in a gradual whittling down of each class corresponding to the decline in numbers within each age group. Unless, therefore, retrograde steps were to be taken allowing the combination of several classes under one teacher, the staffing of schools will not for some time be relieved. If so, the possibility of effecting any real economy in financing has been disposed of; for do not teachers' salaries compose the bulk of expenditures in both elementary and grant-aided secondary schools? Thus, in the former, the total net expendi-

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ture per child during 1937-38¹ and throughout England and Wales amounted to £15 16s. 4d., and salaries of teachers accounted for as much as £9 14s. 6d. of this. Similarly in the grant-aided secondary schools;² out of a total gross expenditure throughout the country of £28 16s. od. during 1936-37³ the fraction devoted to teachers' salaries reached no less a figure than £20 10s. od. Evidently, not until fewer teachers were needed could these aggregates for expenditure be seriously curtailed. Next in order of importance in the items of expenditure in both types of schools stand upkeep of buildings and grounds, fuel, light, cleaning, and rates and taxes, which together add up to £4 4s. od. in the secondary schools, and in the elementary, when books, stationery and apparatus are also included, to £2 14s. 8d. These items (apart from the last three) are clearly unaffected by the number of children in each age group so long as the same aggregate of class-rooms and other accommodation has to be kept open. No reduction could be made in the £4 4s. od. for secondary schools, therefore, as fewer children joined each class. As for the elementary schools, the £2 14s. 8d. could be reduced to the extent to which the books and stationery are provided for individual children. Such provision, however, is relatively insignificant in value. In thickly populated areas it might prove feasible to close a certain proportion of establishments; but since schools, especially elementary, must be within a reasonable distance from scholars' homes, such a policy could probably not be taken far even in such areas, whereas in more sparsely settled districts it would be altogether impracticable. Financial aid for the independent schools, in fact, is out of the question until education can claim from the public purse much larger funds than to-day. Unfortunately, however, the times look most unpropitious for any such extension. Furthermore, after a certain lapse of time the universities also will find their

¹ List 43 (1938) Board of Education, Cost per Child of Elementary Education.

² Including the direct-grant as well as council secondary schools.

³ List 65 (1936-37) Board of Education, Cost per Pupil of Secondary Education (England and Wales).

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income from students falling rapidly,¹ and will then, no doubt, regard their own claim upon the State for further financial assistance as more pressing than that of the independent schools.

§5 COSTS OF EDUCATION IN A NATIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

But funds are only a small part of the question. The dilemma of the independent schools is unfortunately only one aspect, and that among the least important, of a problem with a multiplicity of complications as far as the nation at large is concerned. At last, after years of passivity and deafness to warnings from students of demography, the country is awakening to a realization of the straits into which our habit of small families is likely to lead us. A smaller population than we have to-day might be contemplated with calm; but the prospect of one falling continuously and showing no tendency to stabilize itself is far from reassuring. Fears are often raised, unjustifiably, on the score of the possible repercussions of a dwindling population on the whole structure of our social and economic life; but there can be no doubt that eventually serious consequences must accompany an unchecked decline. Even now the outlook is so serious that, unless some new deterrent intervenes, the entire population of England and Wales might decline by 3,540,000, i.e. by 8.7%, between 1938 and 1965, whereas certain age groups, particularly those in school ages, are likely to be affected to this extent at very much earlier dates.² Under such circumstances, therefore, the need is apparent for some policy to modify small family habits which, if continued without hindrance, must inescapably carry our numbers down in rapid

¹ In Wales that situation seems already to have been reached.

² *vide supra*, pp. 333-39. The figures quoted here are on the basis of Contingency B.

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decline.¹ A balanced approach to such a policy, however, can hardly assign to the dilemma of the independent schools anything but secondary importance. Altogether wider issues have to be faced. It may be observed, however, that a general policy successful in encouraging the production of larger families might incidentally bring considerable succour to the independent, just as to other, schools. Indeed the latter should probably regard a general attack on the demographic problem as far more favourable to their fortunes than any direct, but otherwise unsupported, assistance from the Budget.

It is not the function of these pages, however, to discuss the general lines of a population policy. The problem here is to discover a policy for dissuading parents from limiting their families primarily, or even partly, because the various 'costs' of that education to which they aspire seem oppressive. Once more, it must be emphasized that nothing will be possible, at least for some years ahead, unless we are able and willing to increase substantially the national vote for educational ends.²

A. *Education Outside the State System*

The problem has two aspects, which are concerned first with children educated in the grant-aided secondary and technical schools, and second with those whose education proceeds in universities or else in institutions outside the precincts of State aid altogether. These latter would include many undertaking instruction in the arts, for example, or else in professions like those of the solicitor, pharmacist, or chartered accountant, where heavy premiums must be paid and a minimum period

¹ As things are at present, it should be noted, women are already bearing too few children to guarantee our reproduction without decline. Our Net Reproduction Rate (see footnote, p. 328) has been estimated at .78 in 1935-36. That fraction must rise to unity before reproduction can be assured. Consequently, our problem is not merely one of dissuading parents from having smaller families than is the rule to-day, but rather of encouraging them to contemplate larger families until the rate once more reaches unity and the state of inherent and perpetual decline in numbers is eliminated.

² *vide supra*, pp. 347-50.

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served in pupilage:¹ but the large majority of this group of children and young people would be those educated in independent schools of one kind or another. The first category — comprising grant-aided secondary and technical schools — is clearly the largest and most important for the State, but consideration of it will be postponed until a later section.² For the moment, attention will be confined to the second and smaller category, which is independent of State control.

Here, an extension of scholarships and associated forms of relief might appear on the face of it the most hopeful way of circumventing the obstacle of high educational costs. It has already been shown, however, that any likely increase in scholarships and other forms of remission of charges in the 'independent' schools would have little, if any, effect on the birth-rate among those sections of the population from which they normally draw their pupils.³ So too with a similar policy wherever it may be tried. While the securing of assistance through these channels still remains a lottery, the individual parent planning ahead for his offspring will feel unable to rely upon such forms of relief, and in consequence will hardly undertake responsibility for larger families. It is possible that the result might be rather more encouraging if a substantial extension of scholarships were coupled where necessary with a policy of issuing loans towards any bona fide expenditure on education. How encouraging, would depend partly upon the interest charged upon such money. But it may be much doubted whether loans, even if free of interest, would succeed in producing a very noticeable effect on the size of families. Repayment at some time or other must follow the loan, and most parents would undoubtedly be reluctant to risk building up a debt whose burden might fall upon the children if they themselves were unable to liquidate it.

If, then, small hope seems to reside in loans, scholarships, or similar offers, could some effect on the birth-rate of certain

¹ See chap. v.

² See p. 357 below.

³ *vide supra*, pp. 340-41.

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classes be expected from assistance in the payment of insurance premiums for schooling?¹ Prior to that question, however, another must be answered; namely, whether it would be feasible, as it has sometimes been suggested, for the State to guarantee a specified proportion of such premiums to parents whose incomes per head of their family did not exceed a certain level. According to these proposals, the State should pay its contribution to the insurance company, and at the fixed date payment would only be made to the parent on condition that the child in question was actually enrolled for education in an institution whose charges were more or less expensive. If the child finally went into a school within the State system, the family could then draw no part of the State contribution, since the problem of paying for schooling would then be dealt with by the State in other ways.

In the first place, it must be acknowledged at once that such a policy would virtually mean that the State was helping parents to aim at education outside that offered by its own schools.² Such action, therefore, could only be taken under the most extreme circumstances: for example, if provision within the State system were considered so inadequate for demands upon it that extra room would have to be found elsewhere; or if the State openly acknowledged that for some children at least the most suitable form of education was to be found outside its own schools;³ or if, in the absence of either of these first two conditions, those responsible for national policy mistakenly accepted as fixed and unalterable, and therefore to be accepted as a datum, prevailing preferences among certain groups in society for their offspring to be schooled either as boarders or

¹ See chap. iii, pp. 206-07, for a discussion of insurance for educational expenses.

² It would therefore be exposed to all those objections which, it has been seen (*vide supra*, pp. 345-46), would be urged against a proposal for the State to furnish direct financial assistance to the independent schools. The policy would also encourage parents who have begun to turn from boarding to day establishments among the various independent schools (see chap. iii, pp. 207 foll.) to turn back again to the more expensive form of education.

³ Compare p. 345 above.

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day pupils outside the State-aided system, and bowed to these preferences in order to forestall unfortunate consequences. Thus, in the present situation of concern over population matters, although the first two of the above conditions are most unlikely to be fulfilled, restriction of families, especially among the professional classes, in order to pay for non-State education might conceivably be considered enough justification for a course which would appear on the surface an astonishing one for the State to contemplate.

Clearly, the logical path for the State to follow would be one of attempting, whether by persuasion or coercion, to modify prejudices entertained against the State schools. But even in the unlikely circumstances of the adoption of a policy whereby the State would assist in the payment of insurance premiums against high costs for education, would the birth-rate be thereby rendered more buoyant than it is to-day? To a large extent the answer would naturally depend upon the generosity of the assistance which the State could offer. If small, while parents would no doubt be glad enough to accept it for children whom they would have educated even without such help, most of them would not be persuaded to bring an extra child or so into the world. Even if relatively large, the expenses of rearing a child in the standard of life and to the breadth of education commonly accepted among the professional classes, for example, are so high that parents would often continue to hesitate about adding to their family even if the cost of the education could be alleviated in part by the State's assisting in insurance. Thus even if substantial help were forthcoming towards the net annual payment of £29 or so which, in order to ensure four annual payments of £100 when the child is between the ages of 14 and 18, would probably have to be paid from birth, provision has to be made for many other expensive years of education, as well as for supplementing, in all likelihood, the sum of £100 itself during those four years. It is conceivable, of course,

¹ Without allowing for abatement of income-tax (see chap. iii, p. 206).

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that the State might be prepared to assist in insurance to cover the whole period of a child's education. To suggest that, however, would scarcely seem reasonable when it is realized that for many children a high figure is paid for education each year from the age of 9 or so, when a boy departs for his preparatory school, to the age of 23 or more, when university and professional training are completed. To provide even £100 a year — much less twice that figure which would be needed at many of the larger boarding schools as well as at Oxford and Cambridge — throughout these fourteen years would require insurance premiums of such gargantuan proportions as to be virtually out of the question for the individual likely to invest, and for the State to participate, in them. The most that could be expected would be an option to postpone drawing the benefits of insurance until the time is due for university or professional training instead of consuming it during school years.¹

When all these considerations have been carefully weighed, however, there can be little doubt that the offer of State help in this form would encourage some parents to give birth to one more child than they might otherwise have contemplated. But even so, would the national birth-rate register net gain from such a policy? It would almost certainly not. There is a very strong probability that such gains as might be recorded among professional and other families which are already committed to that more expensive education beyond the *aegis* of the State, would be offset by positive losses among other classes of the community. It must be recognized that there are to-day many families represented in the grant-aided secondary schools whose ambitions reach out to that boarding school life which they and many of their neighbours, for a complexity of reasons, consider superior. To-day, however, they are frankly unable to afford

¹ The State might well hesitate about permitting such postponement, however, in case it should thereby encourage an over-production of intellectuals. Probably it would prefer to withhold offers of assistance towards costs in such higher education until a candidate's ability to profit from it had been established.

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their children that status, and must at best content themselves with a small private school in early years of childhood. With an offer of State help, however, they might easily be incited to make on their own account an extra effort to use this privilege. That extra effort for many mothers, however, will almost inevitably mean fewer children even than their mothers bore before them. A desirable goal in education might then be brought just near enough to make its contemplation not altogether unreasonable, but still bound to exert an additional strain on the family purse despite a contribution to the new expenses out of the national exchequer.¹ Such a strain can only be relieved at the expense of fertility, thus cancelling opposite effects of the government's policy elsewhere.

Much the same, both as to justification and results, can also be said about another measure which might be taken to ease the burden of paying for costly educations, especially in boarding schools, outside the State system. At present any parent who is liable for income tax can get an exemption on £50 of his income for every child who is receiving full-time instruction of any kind whatever, from public elementary to university. Charges in some institutions may be four or five times as great as the maximum normally incurred in others, but for purposes of income tax they receive the same treatment. No more than £50 is allowed even if school or university expenses take as much as £250 or more a year, and that same £50 is allowed where school fees do not exceed about £15. When the cost of maintaining a child is counted, as well as incidental expenses of schooling, £50 is none too much for keeping a child at a secondary desk, but, when high fees have to be met, that figure may seem painfully inadequate. It can be argued, of course, that those economically secure enough to pay for such expensive training cannot reasonably expect still further additions to their incomes from the public purse. It has already been shown,

¹ Costs would be so comparatively little reduced by either of the policies yet suggested, that strain upon family purses would remain.

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however,¹ that the population problem might be regarded as serious enough to justify not only a new policy of 'unto him that hath shall be given', but one which implies encouragement by the State of the use of education other than that which it is itself providing. If so, the policy might be considered of permitting a flexible upper limit to the income upon which allowance would be made in the assessment of tax. Provided that the total income did not exceed a certain figure per head of the family, all *bona fide* expenditure on education might be fully exempted from tax, or else a certain proportion might be so exempted. Once more, however, although some members of the professional and associated classes would unquestionably be encouraged in this way to produce more children than at present, it is equally certain that new families would be tempted by the new benefits to aspire to an education whose cost would press heavily on them even when State assistance were taken into account. Any such policy as that visualized here for income tax would be liable to precisely the same influences on the size of families — increasing some but decreasing others — as the insurance programme considered above. Automatically conflicting currents would inevitably be released by policies of this kind.

B. *Education by the State*

It has already been shown that meeting the 'costs' of education does not by any means lead to small families only where ambitions rise to expensive schooling outside the State system. The practice of limitation is often no less necessary where parents are anxious for their offspring to occupy places as day pupils in the grant-aided secondary schools. Furthermore, the families so involved are far more numerous than those driven to the necessity of limitation by the desire to pay boarding-school costs.² It remains to consider, therefore, what means

¹ *vide supra*, pp. 353-54.

² *vide supra*, chap. iii, p. 220.

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might be found of alleviating pressure upon the family circles represented in the aided schools. An extension of scholarships or grants, to the getting of which a high degree of uncertainty still attached, would undoubtedly have little power to promote larger families;¹ if not a general introduction of free post-primary education, then a universal policy of 100% Special Places would have to be adopted.

The mere opening to competition of all places in secondary schools, however, would be far from adequate. Something much more radical is necessary before a favourable response could be anticipated from the birth-rate. The scales used for assessing the degree of assistance allowed to parents need to be greatly liberalized, both in respect of the income limits specified and in respect of the maintenance grants given. This latter in particular would be crucial.²

It is, however, necessary to look deeper in order to estimate the precise effects likely to accompany even so sweeping a policy. In the first place, to universalize 100% Special Places throughout the grant-aided world would be to shut the door of the State secondary schools upon all children not capable of passing an examination. Everything would depend on how this examination was conceived. If narrowly — because e.g. school premises were not sufficiently extended and rationing of places were therefore necessary — it is to be expected that upon the new candidates coming up for secondary training in response to the new, generous offer of assistance, the examination would have the effect of a highly competitive scholarship test. Any parent uncertain of his child's competitive ability, but set upon a secondary training, or its equivalent, would have to accumulate funds to buy a place outside the State-aided system. At present, many such places can still be bought, far more cheaply, within that system. Thus the new policy might, contrary to its aim, actually increase parental outlay for some

¹ Compare pp. 351-52 above.

² As it was seen in chap. ii.

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families, and consequently intensifying pressure on their fertility.

To avoid this regrettable outcome, the provision of secondary education might be extended so far that the entrance examination would cease to ration. That policy, however, is so obviously unsatisfactory that no one has proposed it. It would result in a grave misdirection of ability. The right course is, after all, simple, and has often been stated. Side by side with the revolution which, with the universal introduction of 100% Special Places, would be effected in the secondary school world, the whole system of post-primary education requires radical reconstruction. First and foremost, that recasting would have to imply the establishing of other types of post-primary school on a genuine parity in status with the present secondary school. The recommendations of the Hadow, and later of the Spens,¹ Report would need to be implemented to the full, until one or other class of school could no longer be regarded as relatively more or less desirable. All would have to stand alike in reputation, their differences depending upon the type of child predominantly provided for. The authorities would be called upon to see to it that nothing in buildings, equipment, teaching staff, fees or other conditions of organization pointed to an implicit, if not acknowledged, inferiority of one type of school to another. This effective parity between all members of the State-aided post-primary world does not, of course, exist to-day. Until it does, ambitious parents will continue to despise all but the academic work of the secondary school, and any entrance examination designed to be selective will remain exclusive (with the above-mentioned evil results), because if their boys and girls are not accepted on this test into aided secondary establishments, they will pay for them outside the State system rather than agree to the 'inferior' schooling of a central or technical institution.

Suppose, then, that the educational authorities realized this

¹ *vide supra*, chap. ii.

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necessity, and did what they could to establish administratively a genuine Hadowism. It is quite another question whether public opinion would respond suitably to such official gestures. After so many years during which the public has had no doubt which type of school they would choose for a child if they had the opportunity, it would be essential, if a change were to be made in their attitude, that parents should be given enlightened guidance in selecting a path beyond the primary school. An equal treatment by the authorities of the various establishments for adolescents would not by itself be enough to guarantee that parents would consider the suitability of one type or another solely in terms of a child's aptitudes, whether practical or theoretical, and not in terms of his ultimate social advantage.

But even a re-orientation of parents' minds consciously undertaken by State propaganda would be unlikely to outweigh the influence of hard social and economic facts. Unless the type of occupation open to those leaving each sort of post-primary school were equally well thought of socially and equally well remunerated; unless young people of e.g. 19 years were earning about the same in these various types of occupation despite their having to leave the various kinds of school at different ages (a thing that could hardly be avoided); unless the degree of unemployment and insecurity were about equivalent in all these different spheres of work; in the absence of these equalizing conditions outside the schools, administrative Hadowism within them is not going to be accepted readily by parents.

But if a way can be found of satisfying at one and the same time all the above conditions, then it should be possible to look for considerable relief from the pressure which costs of education exert to-day upon the size of the relevant families. There can be no doubt that educational expense would then play a substantially smaller part in depressing the birth-rate of the nation as a whole than it does to-day. Indeed, such a programme would seem to offer the only hope of arriving at the essential goal. It would not only relieve those parents upon whom even

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the minimum of expenses at State secondary schools now press heavily enough to require sacrifices and careful economies. A proportion also of those who are nowadays led to this same conclusion in order to meet the charges of more or less expensive education in independent schools would undoubtedly be affected. As things are at present, many such would be glad enough to save themselves from this expense if they could secure a place for their children in a State secondary school. When, however, their children fail in the keen competition which exists for those places, then they are often unwilling to see their son or daughter drafted to a central, still less to a senior, school. Whether tested by the touchstone of social prestige or by the more concrete one of vocational advantage, these last two types of school are to-day for the most part ranked as 'inferior' to the first. To miss the first is a 'failure' necessitating the paying for a place in a private or other independent school and outside the State system altogether. But if the State could guarantee to every child given into its charge a post-primary education suitable to its abilities and, still more important, to which public opinion generally accorded a dignity equal to that now worn by State secondary schools, then many parents would no longer pay high fees for education in an independent school. The supply of places, in fact, such as they would be satisfied to accept for their offspring, would be so multiplied by the changes envisaged above, that the present fierce competition would become a thing of the past, and with it would go the accompanying evil results.

Here, then, are two categories of parents whose family circles, should full Hadowism be achieved, need no longer be restricted by reason of educational expenses. The numbers thus included, moreover, would undoubtedly be large and education's responsibility for small families much reduced. Unfortunately, however, the policy would be unlikely to eliminate that responsibility altogether. However far the State were able to go in effecting the proposed changes — and the considerable financial outlay

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necessary would not be the least of the difficulties involved — there can be little doubt that for some time at least there would remain some families which refused to avail themselves of the opportunities offered in State schools. While impulses to social and economic improvement persist, and a superior type of education which serves as a means to improvement of social status exists outside the State network, there is every likelihood that some parents, despite limited incomes, would still be impelled to strive after this 'superior' education for their offspring. Indeed, some who are at present content with the distinction which still attaches itself to the secondary in contrast to other forms of post-primary training offered by the State, might under such new conditions as are here visualized, turn to the 'public' and associated independent schools in order still to distinguish their offspring from the mass of their fellows.

How far such a counter current away from the State schools would be likely to develop, it is naturally impossible to predict. There is nothing in the past from which it would be safe to argue concerning what may happen, in this respect, in the future. It might be pointed out that such apprehensions, actually entertained when the Free Place system was first introduced, turned out to be without much foundation. It was decided in 1907 that all grant-aided secondary schools must include among their pupils a substantial proportion of children from public elementary schools, and at the time fears were expressed that this would lead many middle-class parents to withdraw their children from schools attended by 'common' children, and that the schools would suffer in consequence. If the fact that these schools, far from suffering any depletion, actually experienced notable gains as the years passed, were now brought forward as evidence, two answers can be given. In the first place, it would be unsafe to place much confidence in the current relevance of evidence which is thirty years old. In the second place, much of the increase experienced by secondary schools in the years prior and subsequent to the Great War must be accounted for

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by the coming into those schools of families never previously represented there. This inflow was large enough to mask altogether any flow that there was in the opposite direction. In fact, although the upper middle classes have not of course ceased to use the State secondary schools altogether, there is no doubting the fact that, especially after the War, numbers in non-aided secondary schools rose more rapidly than the total population.¹ The independent schools were gaining at the same time as State secondary education was becoming more widely shared. In fact, if past experience can serve as any guide to what may be expected from a further liberalizing of State post-primary education, it would seem to suggest that there is a real likelihood of a certain counter current being set up away from the State schools. If so, such new developments in State education would lead some parents to even greater sacrifices and economies than they are at present wont to make for education. The size of their families would be likely to suffer in consequence.

The new State policy, in fact, might have to take the blame for a certain increased pressure on the birth-rate, to some extent capable of offsetting the improvements discussed above. Furthermore, it would be eminently likely to leave altogether untouched another aspect of the problem: what of the families which are already insisting upon a non-State education to-day in order to secure the distinction which derives from it? Some such parents are only able to satisfy their desires in this direction by very careful limitation of their family circles. Yet they would probably be unwilling to change their course whatever improvements and concessions were open to them within the State system. Non-State education as such impresses itself upon them as indispensable for their offspring. Eventually, perhaps, these families might be led to appreciate the folly of their own strivings when the State could offer an equal or superior education; but such a conversion can scarcely be

¹ See Tables B.

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expected quickly or universally. Desires for social and economic distinction would undoubtedly continue to determine the choice which many parents would make, and if necessary their family circles will no doubt be curtailed to guarantee the satisfaction of that choice.

Even if, moreover, our 'public' and other independent schools were abolished altogether, a certain pressure of costs of education on the birth-rate would in all probability still continue. There is every likelihood that while motives for scaling the social ladder persist, and while education is recognized as an eminently accessible mode of rising, some other means would be found by certain parents for securing an education set apart from that most common. There would grow up new schools or a system of private tuition which the *élite* and those aspiring to that status would provide for themselves, a development which the history of the U.S.A., despite its cheap and universal State education, has shown during the last generation or two to be inevitable in a society where social climbing is a powerful instinct.

An attempt to meet this *impasse* by propaganda against regarding education primarily as subservient to economic ends and as a weapon for social distinction, might seem *prima facie* the best policy under the circumstances. But it would be certain to encounter strong opposition. For many members of our community the end of education has largely ceased to be autonomously cultural, and has become firmly established as socio-economic. Schooling has become recognized as a main avenue of social mobility, and it is likely to be fiercely defended as such. If so, no amount of widening in the State system will dissuade such parents from stinting themselves and their family circle in order to go outside the State system to more distinguished schools, universities and places of professional training. If separate forms of assistance were devised to relieve at any given time those who insist upon expensive training, the effect could only be to invite new recruits to this category

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from lower income levels, who must thereupon stint themselves. Logically, the State might continue to liberalize assistance to those new recruits, until finally nobody would be left inside the old State system at all. By this time, however, not only would a ridiculous situation have been allowed to arise, but what used to be the exclusive, non-State educational system would have become the common, assisted one, and parental ambitions would doubtless be causing the creation of some yet newer system of exclusiveness. If adverse effects upon fertility from this latest direction were to be bought off in their turn, the old process could only be begun anew. We are in the presence of a vicious circle.

It is here that the heart of the matter lies. Until it is possible to bring about a reorientation of values so that social climbing loses its fascination; and until our social structure is so modified that education does not have to be regarded as determining our children's future — as the main key to pleasant or unpleasant, secure or insecure, employment — little hope can be held out for ultimate success in eradicating *altogether* the adverse effects which paying for education may have upon our national birth-rate. Among the various possibilities already examined in this chapter, only one, the achievement of a full Hadowism, promises much chance of success. Far-reaching results could undoubtedly be anticipated from such a policy. But only if accompanied by a radical change in the public attitude towards the meaning of education, could it finally offset the compression exercised by the expenses of education upon the birth-rate.

The same solution, if it could be arrived at, would in all likelihood solve another problem which lies in wait to-day when a rising fraction of a people achieve higher education. So long as this last is generally desired as a means to social advancement, its possessors are for the most part unwilling to accept employment outside white-collared or 'intellectual' occupation, for which alone they feel the training they have acquired has fitted them. Under these circumstances, therefore, when higher

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education spreads out too far in a society, a danger has to be faced of disequilibrium through accumulation of non-manual workers, many of whom are either totally unemployed or else forced to accept jobs which they consider beneath them. Already in this country a certain amount of such unemployment exists among teachers,¹ but the problem has not yet reached the acute stage known to several continental countries.² It is difficult, however, to see what can avoid that dénouement in this country also, so long as education continues to be largely regarded as a means to improved social and economic status. But once that attitude was broken down, education might come into its own in the only guise it can honourably wear, namely, as a cultural equipment fitting each man and woman to lead a full and satisfying life, but not necessarily in a class outside that in which he had been born, not yet necessarily following a white-collar occupation. The accordance of new dignity to occupations now counted inferior seems to offer the only civilized path by which could be finally eradicated both the fears of unemployment among the professions and the depressing effect which paying for education nowadays exerts upon the birth-rate.

Short of this and of the achievement of a full Hadowism, it would seem wise, in drawing up a general policy for combating the decline of fertility, to rely upon eradicating or counterbalancing other, and perhaps more powerful, causes at work upon fertility to-day, rather than to tamper with the costs of education. It may be that prudence imposed by the strain of financing education could be outweighed by the creation or liberation of stronger incentives to rearing large families. A greater influence might be invoked to overshadow a lesser.

¹ Frequent indication of this appears in the columns of *The Times Educational Supplement*. See especially a letter on October 29th, 1938, from the Chairman of the Education Committee of the National Union of Teachers.

² See KOTSCHNIG, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

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WHAT is the mathematical probability, or chance, of any public elementary school child's proceeding at some time or other to a grant-aided secondary school? He might go into a preparatory department before he was nine years old, or he might have to wait until he was past 14, but what is his total chance of getting there at all? Highly important, but intangible, factors such as relative ability among competitors from year to year, which go far towards determining the fate of a particular child, cannot enter into the computation of mathematical probability. Consequently, in what follows, there is no course but to assume them to remain constant.

The most that statistics make it possible to calculate are the fractions of children at each age who pass from elementary to secondary schools in any school year. If, to take an example, $P_7, P_8, \dots P_{13}$ represent the number of pupils in elementary schools at ages 7, 8, \dots 13, during the school year 1935-36, say, and $S_8, S_9, \dots S_{14}$ the numbers of ex-elementary pupils admitted to the grant-aided secondary schools at the ages of 8, 9, \dots 14 during 1936-37, then $\frac{S_8}{P_7}, \dots \frac{S_{14}}{P_{13}}$ will measure the mathematical probabilities of a child's entering a grant-aided secondary school at ages 8, \dots 14 respectively during 1936-37.¹ Consequently, if these chances possessed by children between 8 and 14 in 1936-37 had prevailed in other school years before and after this date, then the total chance of any particular

¹ Unfortunately, statistics as published render it impossible to make this calculation with absolute precision. For their proper expression, the numerator and denominator of each fraction should refer to the same body of children. Since, for example, numbers in public elementary schools refer to March 31st in each year, S_{11} in the fraction $\frac{S_{11}}{P_{10}}$ needs the number of children admitted during 1936-37 who had been aged 10-11 on March 31st, 1936. In fact, the total entries between ages 11 and 12 must be accepted as the closest approximation to that number.

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child's acceding to a secondary school at some time or other during school life would be given by

$$\frac{S_8}{P_7} + \frac{S_9}{P_8} + \frac{S_{10}}{P_9} + \frac{S_{11}}{P_{10}} + \frac{S_{12}}{P_{11}} + \frac{S_{13}}{P_{12}} + \frac{S_{14}}{P_{13}}.$$

In other words, this aggregate expresses what a child's total chances would amount to under the conditions prevailing for each relevant age in 1936-37. It gives a composite figure for measuring the mathematical probability of secondary education afforded in the school year 1936-37. The result was .139, or 13.9 per 100.

This index, however, can be calculated by a short-cut without in general interfering very much with the final result; this is done by reducing the seven separate fractions to one by taking P_{10} as the denominator of each.¹ The Board of Education has made this a general practice. In other words, the sum of all ex-P.E. pupils admitted to the secondary schools during 1936-37 is related to the number of pupils in the P.E. schools in March 1936 and between the ages of 10 and 11 at that date.²

$$\frac{S_8 + S_9 + S_{10} + S_{11} + S_{12} + S_{13} + S_{14}}{P_{10}}$$

is the approximate fraction thus calculated, which amounted to 13.7% for admissions to the grant-aided secondary schools during 1936-37 — a sufficiently close approximation to the 13.9% given by adding the seven separate fractions.

Similarly, what mathematical chance does a public elementary child possess of arriving one day at a university? Suppose U_{17} , U_{18} , U_{19} , U_{20} , represent the numbers of ex-P.E. school entrants to the universities of England and Wales during the

¹ P_{10} is normally the largest of these denominators and consequently, by substituting it for all the others, the approximate quotient is too small. Fortunately, however, the difference is not large and the approximation can be generally accepted.

² Contrast the relation between those leaving the public elementary for aided secondary schools in any year, say 1936-37, and the total of all children leaving the public elementary schools during the same school year. This relation is often misleadingly quoted as though it also gave a calculus of the mathematical probability arrived at above.

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academic year 1937-38, at ages 17-20, and $\frac{P}{1930-31}$ $\frac{P}{1929-30}$
 $\frac{P}{1928-29}$ $\frac{P}{1927-28}$ the numbers of children aged 10-11 in the P.E.
 schools during the years indicated by the suffixes, then the
 fraction $\frac{U_{17}}{P}$ may fairly be taken to measure the ex-P.E.S.

$\frac{1930-31}{1930-31}$
 young man's or woman's chance of entering a university in
 England or Wales at age 17 during 1937-38. Similarly, the
 fraction $\frac{U_{18}}{P}$ may be taken to measure the ex-P.E. scholar's

$\frac{1929-30}{1929-30}$
 chance of entering one of our universities at age 18 during the
 academic year 1937-38. And so on for the chances of entering
 at other ages. Consequently, if these chances possessed by ex-
 P.E. scholars between 17 and 20 in 1937-38 prevailed in other
 academic years before and after this date, then the total chance
 of any particular P.E. scholar's acceding to one of our univer-
 sities at some time or other during those years would be given
 by the sum of his chances at the different ages 17-20; i.e. it
 would be given by

$$\frac{U_{17}}{P} + \frac{U_{18}}{P} + \frac{U_{19}}{P} + \frac{U_{20}}{P}$$

$\frac{1930-31}{1930-31} \frac{1929-30}{1929-30} \frac{1928-29}{1928-29} \frac{1927-28}{1927-28}$

(Further fractions might, of course, be added on to this total to
 take account of his chances of entering at ages older than 20.)
 In other words, this aggregate expresses what an ex-P.E.
 scholar's total chances would amount to under the conditions
 prevailing for each relevant age during 1937-38.

So far the calculation compares closely with that used above
 for estimating a child's chances of passing from a P.E. to a
 grant-aided secondary school. Unfortunately, however, not
 only is it here impossible to calculate the sum of these fractions
 because their numerators (i.e. ex-P.E. school entrants to the
 English and Welsh universities by year of age) cannot be
 evaluated; but the corresponding short cut also cannot be
 taken. The fractions cannot be simplified into one by taking a
 single denominator, because the 10-11 age-group in the

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P.E. schools varies so considerably and in so irregular a fashion from one year to the next that the substitution of any one for the four (or more) denominators could not be relied upon as giving any sort of approximation to the truth. It must be added, also, that even if this age-group did not vary, and if in consequence a single denominator could be adopted so as to form a single fraction out of the four above, with a numerator equal to $U_{17}+U_{18}+U_{19}+U_{20}$, the problem would even then have to remain unsolved; for as yet at least, figures for ex-P.E. school entrants to our universities cannot be completely ascertained even if classification by age is ignored. The number of ex-P.E. scholars known to proceed directly from grant-aided secondary schools to the universities would not supply the numerator, because ex-P.E. school pupils reach the universities without having come directly from grant-aided secondary schools, and indeed sometimes without having been through these latter schools at all.

With available statistics, in fact, it is not possible to calculate with any accuracy the chances of entering an English or Welsh university after attendance at a P.E. school.¹

¹ The relation between numbers of ex-P.E. pupils leaving the grant-aided secondary schools for the universities, and the total of those who left the P.E. schools some years before is clearly entirely worthless as a measure of the chances. For this implies assuming, always falsely, first that no ex-P.E. pupils enter the universities except directly from the grant-aided secondary schools; second, not only that the denominators of the four fractions above are indeed equal enough to be replaced by a single one, but that the still further step can be taken of replacing without inaccuracy the total of children leaving the P.E. schools in any year for the 10-11 age-group within the schools in that year.



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